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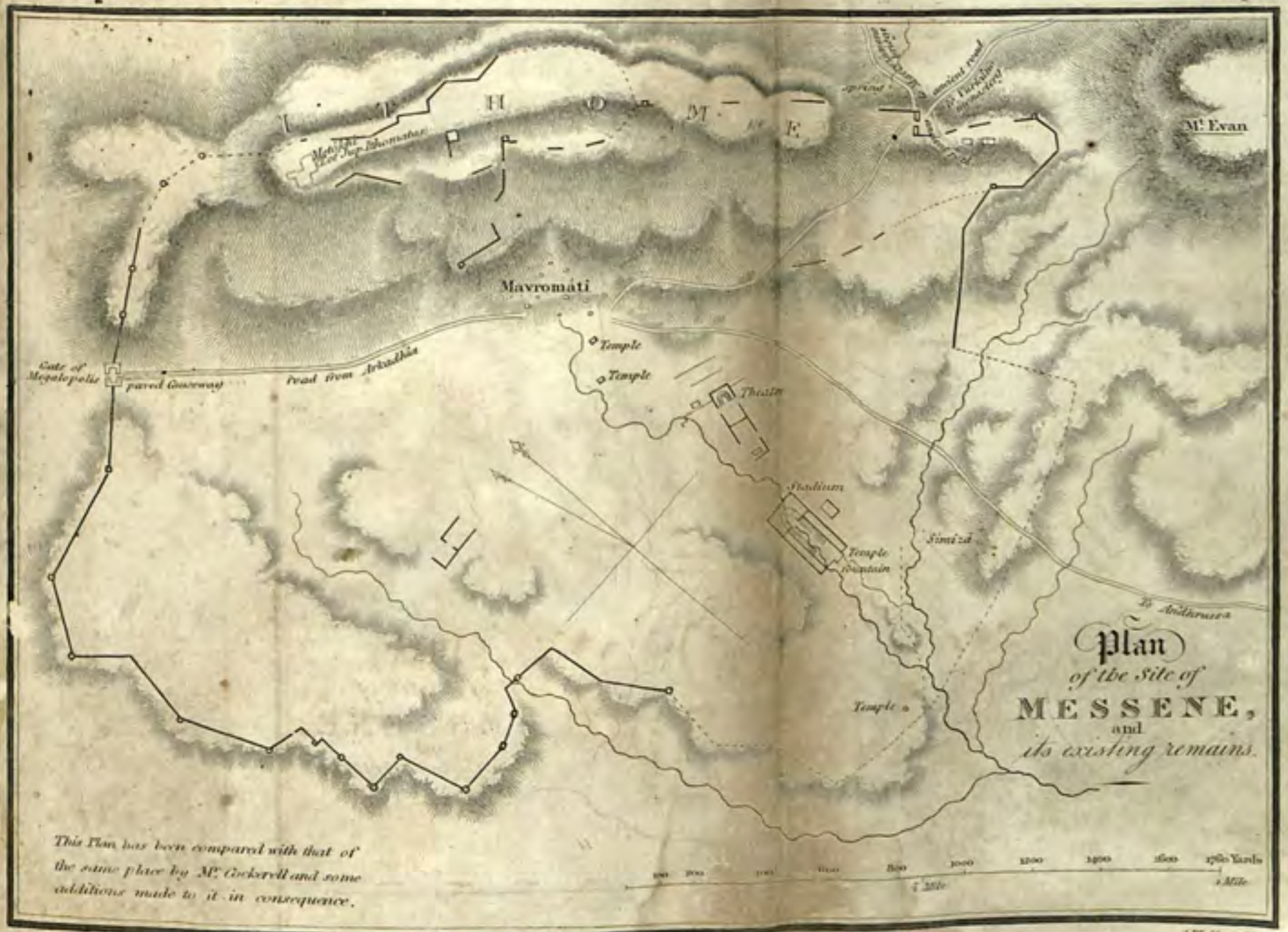
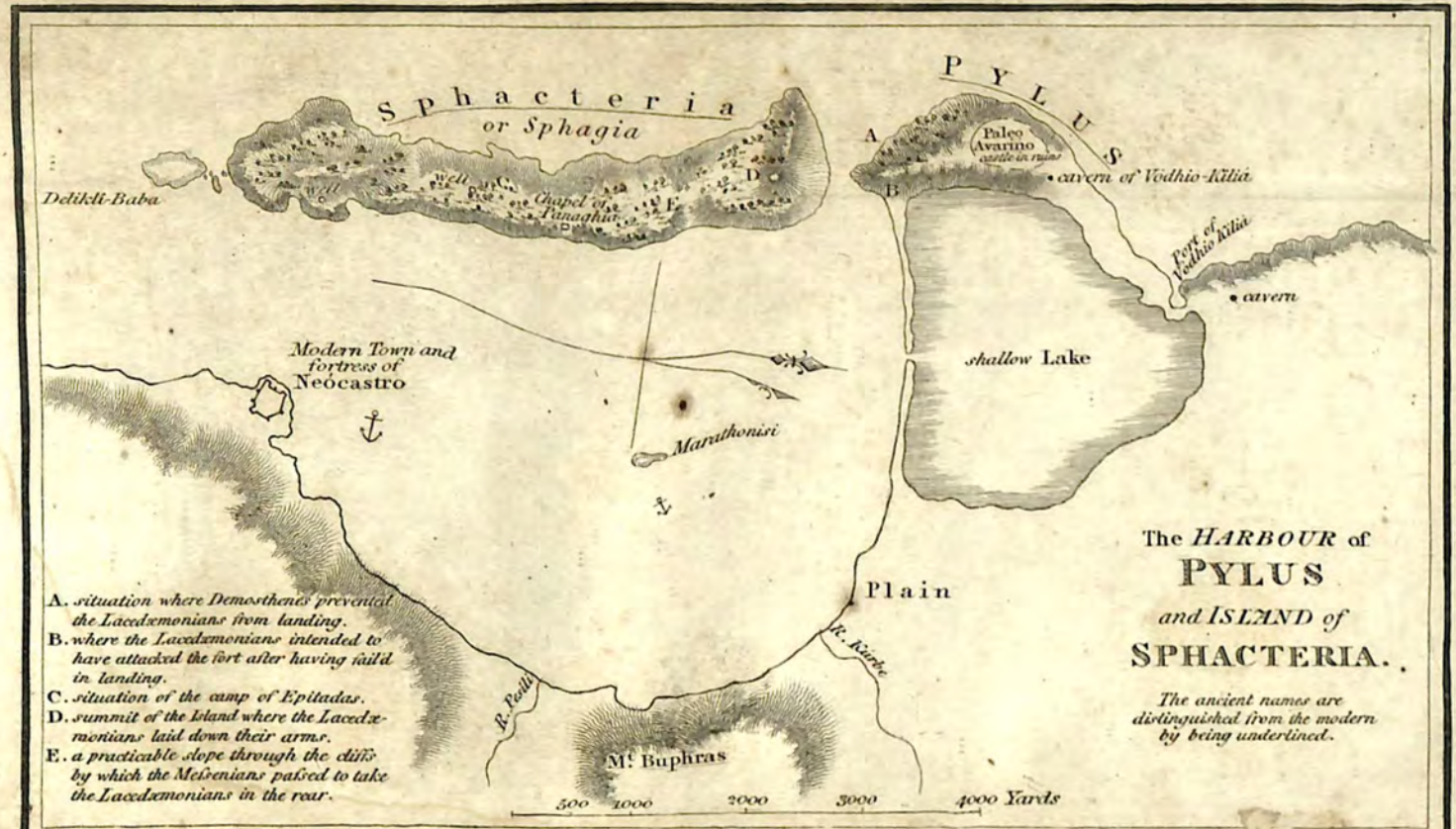


Plan of the Site of MESSENE, and its existing remains.

W.M.J. m.& d.

J. Walker Sculpt.

Fanari
Andritzena
Mt. Dhioforti
Megalopolis
Mt. Tetrazi
Lotsari
Arkadhia
MESSENE
Andruza
Nisi
Kalamata
Proti
S. Thuriates
GULF
of
KALAMATA
C. Kurtissa
Neokastro
Mothoni
Koroni
Sapienza
Skhiza
C. Gallo
MESSENIA.
Geographic Miles


Sphacteria
or Sphagia
PYLUS
Delikli-Baba
Well
Well
Chapel of Panaghia
Paleo Avarino
castle in ruins
cavern of Vodhio-Kilia
Port of Vodhio Kilia
cavern
shallow Lake
Modern Town and fortress of Neócastro
Marathonisi
Plain
R. Pauli
R. Kiathe
Mt Buphras
500 1000 2000 3000 4000 Yards
A. situation where Demosthenes prevented the Lacedæmonians from landing.
B. where the Lacedæmonians intended to have attacked the fort after having laild in landing.
C. situation of the camp of Epitadas.
D. summit of the Island where the Lacedæmonians laid down their arms.
E. a practicable slope through the cliffs by which the Messenians passed to take the Lacedæmonians in the rear.
The HARBOUR of
PYLUS
and ISLAND of
SPHACTERIA.
The ancient names are distinguished from the modern by being underlined.

W.M.L.m.& d. J.Walker Sculpt.

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA.

WITH

A MAP AND PLANS.

£4661

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE,

F.R.S. ETC.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXX.

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PREFACE.

THE very limited success of the principal works descriptive of Greece, which have lately been published, shew how difficult it is to render travels in that country agreeable to the general reader, and may serve in part to explain the long delay which has occurred in the publication of the present volumes. The new condition of the Peloponnesus will equally account for their being now submitted to the public. Greece, in fact, abstracted from its ancient history, has, until very recently, been no more than the thinly peopled province of a semi-barbarous empire, presenting the usual results of Ottoman bigotry and despotism, relieved only by the occasional resistance of particular districts to their rapacious governors, or of armed bandits to the established authority. It was almost entirely by connexion with ancient history that Greece, or its inhabitants, or even its natural productions, could long detain the traveller by furnish-

ing matter of interest to his inquiries, whence arises a continual reference to the Greek and Roman authors, and a frequent necessity for citing even their words, which gives to travels in Greece a *learned aspect*, by no means calculated to obtain for them that success which is indicated by an extensive circulation, more especially as the demand for such works on the continent of Europe is speedily supplied by translations, published at a much smaller expense than is possible in England.

When the journeys were undertaken, of which the following pages contain a diary, the Peloponnesus had been very little explored, and no description of it had been made public, except those by Wheler and Chandler, of some small portions adjacent to the sea coast. The real topography of the interior was unknown, and the map of ancient Greece was formed only by inference from its historians and geographers, although, having been densely populated, divided into numerous small states, and in a high state of improvement in the arts of peace and war, it is, above all others, the country which particularly requires a minute geographical examination for the elucidation of its literature, or, in other words, a map upon a large scale, formed from actual surveys. The delineation of the Peloponnesus, which accompanies the present volumes, is

very far from attaining these requisites: nevertheless, it is the result of more than fifteen hundred measurements with the sextant and theodolite, made from every important geodæsic station, which circumstances would admit of my employing, corrected or confirmed by a few good observations of latitude. The coast line has been adopted from the nautical surveys executed under the orders of the Admiralty by Captains Smyth and Copeland, of the Royal Navy, as far as their surveys extended. The unsurveyed coast, which comprehends the entire Argolic Gulf northward of Cape Iéraka, together with the Straits of Petza and Ydhra, will undoubtedly require considerable correction.

The reader will not be long in discovering, that the critical remarks on ancient history or geography which occur in the following pages, are not taken from the Author's manuscript journal exactly in the form in which they are now submitted to the public. The itinerary itself has received only such emendations as a compressed diary requires, to be intelligible; but the commentaries just alluded to, although their basis was laid in the form of notes in the journeys described, and by confronting the text of the ancient authors with the actual locality to which they relate, have been amplified and brought

into their present form at the Author's leisure. In defence of the frequent occurrence of translated extracts it may be remarked, that in general such extracts afford the most perspicuous and even the shortest mode of resolving the questions which arise out of the authority cited; and that of the two authors most frequently quoted, namely, Strabo and Pausanias, there exists no translation in the English language of the former, and of the latter only one, which scarcely deserves the name.

Although the description of the ancient cities of Peloponnesus, which I have extracted in an abridged form from Pausanias, relate in some instances to places, of which not a vestige now remains to illustrate the Greek topographer, I have nevertheless introduced them all, because, by the addition of a few pages, the present work is thus rendered more complete, and because the reader is thus enabled to compare every part of Peloponnesus as Pausanias found it, with the view which it presented to the follower of his steps, after an interval of sixteen centuries. I am, moreover, much inclined to believe, that the descriptions which the ancient traveller has given of the cities of Greece—of their distribution, mode of decoration, monuments, and productions of art, would, if better known, be useful to the cultivators of the

fine arts in general; that they might have a tendency to assist the public discrimination on these subjects; and that they are particularly worthy of the attention of those upon whom depends the erection of monuments and public works of every kind, in regard to which few persons will be so hardy as to assert, that the good taste of this nation has kept pace with its wealth and expenditure.

Every person who has frequent occasion to write the proper names of a foreign language, which has a written character different from his own, finds the necessity of attempting some uniform mode of representing the foreign sounds. To effect this object completely or consistently, is very difficult. The surest method is to write every name in both characters, by which the reader is furnished with the means of correction, and is quickly habituated to the author's method. Although I have been guided by this principle in the following Work, I have not thought it necessary on all occasions to write the modern name in Greek characters, because the resemblance between the Greek alphabet and our own, arising from the original affinity of Hellenic and Latin, is so great, that all the modern Greek vowel sounds may be correctly represented by the corresponding Italian vowels;

the diphthongs in modern Greek being all either resolved into simple vowel sounds, or into syllables: thus, ε and αι have both the sound of the Italian *e*,—and η, ι, ει, οι, υι, have all the sound of the Italian *i*,—αυ is *av*, and ευ, *ef* in Italian. By this mode, therefore, of representing the vowel sounds, by employing a few particular forms to express the sounds of some of the consonants which are either peculiar to Greek, or are pronounced differently from their corresponding letters in the other alphabets of Europe, and by noting the accent where it is necessary, modern Greek words may be written in the Roman character so as to render their correct pronunciation easy to any person ignorant of the Greek alphabet. The anomalous consonant sounds I have represented as follows. *B* by *V*, such being invariably its sound in modern Greek. *Γ* by *Gh*; but as the guttural sound of γ is much more remarkable before the slender than the hard vowels, I have confined the use of the *gh* to the former. *Δ*, which is sounded by the Greeks like our *th* in *thus*, by *dh*. *Θ*, which is our *th* in *think*, by *th*. As *K* after *Γ* or *N* has the sound of *G*; *Π* after *M* that of *B*; and *T* after *N* that of *D*, I have represented them accordingly. In many names of non-Hellenic origin, there occurs a sound which seems, like many other corruptions of language, to have

been introduced about the same period of time into Greece and Italy; it is that of the English *ch*, or Italian *c* before the slender vowels, equivalent to the English *ch*, and German *tsch*. It is represented in modern Greek by *Tz*, a combination of letters unknown to the ancients. I have expressed the sound by *Tj*; but as it is rather a foreign innovation than congenial to the Greek tongue, I have only indicated it in the names where it is particularly remarkable, and have generally represented *Tζ* by *Tz*, which in truth is the politer utterance of that combination even in words or forms, which have evidently been borrowed from the Slavonic, as for instance in the χαϊδευτικὰ, or diminutive terminations in ιτζι, ιτζα. In like manner σσ or σ before ι is very commonly pronounced, especially in names of places, like *sh* in English, but this also appears to be a rustic rather than the true pronunciation, for which reason I have not thought necessary often to notice it in writing the modern Greek names in our own characters.

As accent is an important guide in reading foreign languages, without which no stranger, however familiar he may be with the elements of a language, can know whether he is right in the utterance of words of two syllables and upwards, I have placed the ac-

cent on all modern Greek words, written in the Roman character, which require that distinction, omitting it when not required, on the ground that all unnecessary distinctions in typography tend only to multiply errors. Thus I have not accented monosyllables, nor even dissyllables, unless when the accent is on the last syllable; and I have always used the Greek acute, because, although modern orthography employs all the three ancient accents, it makes no distinction in their power.

The choice of difficulties which presents itself in every endeavour to represent the names of one language, by means of the alphabet of another, is particularly shewn by the example of the Romans, who, notwithstanding the connexion of their language with the Greek, seem never to have established any unvarying rule for rendering Greek names into Latin. Under these circumstances it may be permitted to a writer in any of the modern European languages, to adopt some uniform method for his guidance, even though he should occasionally employ a form not found in the Latin authors; provided always that it can be done without materially deviating from their practice; for it is obvious that the Latin method of writing Greek names is the most proper for all nations using the Latin alphabet, and that to attempt any systematic change in the me-

thod of the Romans, would be an useless pedantry, and a defiance of established custom, leading to endless inconsistencies, as some recent examples demonstrate. I have thought it better to yield to custom in regard to the most common words, such as Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Athenian, Argive, Spartan, Alexander, Philip, but have adhered to the Latin terminations in the subordinate places, or territorial divisions, or gentile adjectives, as in the instance of Tegeatæ, Phigalenses, Cynurii, Sciritæ. In general I have reduced the Greek termination to the corresponding Latin letters, without inquiring whether that exact form is to be found in the Latin authors, who undoubtedly were, like ourselves, generally guided in this respect by the ear. The representation of the diphthong ει by *ei*, seems to be an improvement upon the common practice of the Romans, and is now so often adopted by English writers as hardly to need any apology. It should be observed, however, that no great precision on this point is attainable, ει and ι having been used indifferently in the later ages of Greece, not only in a great number of Greek proper names, but even in other words. The termination ον neuter I have rendered by *um*, ος masculine or feminine by *us*, ος neuter by *os*, ω always by *o*.

The Italic print, by which ancient names are occasionally distinguished in these volumes, has been employed for the purpose of obviating the ambiguity which might sometimes arise without such a distinction, when ancient and modern names are blended together in the same passage. It is intended only to remind the reader at a glance, that the name in Italics is no longer in use, and that it belongs only to the ancient geography of Greece.

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TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA.

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA.

FIRST JOURNEY.

CHAPTER I.

ELEIA.

Gastúni.—Elis.—Modern agriculture of the Eleia.—From Gastúni to Pyrgo.—Olympia.—Pyrgo.

On the 22d of February 1805 I sailed from the town of Zante [a] with a strong northerly breeze, and in five hours arrived at the mouth of the Peneius, now called the river of Gastúni [b]: landed and walked to Gastúni, not without some impediment from the marshy state of the plain; arrived there at sun-set, and was politely received by Dr. Sessini, to whom I had letters.

[a] Ζάκυνθος—by the Greeks pronounced Zákytho, and often Zátjitho, a cacophonia derived from the Italians, whose *ce, ci,* have been adopted by many of the maritime Greeks in the pronunciation of *k* before those vowels or diphthongs which are equivalent to the Italian *e, i.*

[b] Τὸ ποτάμι τοῦ Γκαστουνίου.

I then sent down horses for my baggage, which did not arrive till midnight.

Gastúni, like the other places in these maritime plains, is built of brick baked in the sun; and, as in Egypt where the same material is used, the excavations formed in digging out the bricks leave large stagnant pools of water. The exhalations from these ponds render Gastúni very unwholesome in summer. In Egypt the same bad effect does not occur, because there, in the dangerous season, the whole country is inundated. The unhealthy air of Gastúni has made all the three brothers Sessini physicians. One of them only is now here; another is with Seid Agá at Lalla.

The town has one advantage at least—that of not being crowded; each house has a yard around it, or a garden planted with orange and cypress trees. Space indeed would be their last want, for the greater part of this plain of Elis, once so renowned for its fertility, is now a desert; a little cultivation around a few villages being all that its present possessors have done to assist the prodigality of nature. Buffalos, sheep, and oxen enjoy the rest of the plain. The two latter supply butcher's meat to Zante, where pasture is found only on the mountain. Gastúni contains about 500 houses; half of these belong to the Turkish proprietors of the lands, of which

those in cultivation are chiefly the property of the heirs of one Hassán Agá, who died lately at Constantinople; namely, his son Bekír Efféndi, who is now at Gastúni, and a nephew, Shemseddín Bey, who is at Constantinople,—to him Cástel Tornese belongs. Ismaíl Efféndi, the Vóivoda, who has purchased the Dhekatía [a], or tithe, and customs from the Porte for three years, in the usual manner, is said to be a cypher compared with Bekír Efféndi.

At Pyrgo all the inhabitants are Greeks, with the exception of those who are in the service of Mustafá Agá, who is Vóivoda and chief landed proprietor, as well as farmer of the imperial revenue. He and his brother Seid Agá of Lalla, who as well as most of their followers are of Albanian race, can bring 500 or 600 men into the field. At Lalla all the inhabitants are Mussulmans, except a few shop-keepers. The hills which lie between the maritime plains and the districts of Lalla and Fanári produce among the pine-woods, which cover the greater part of them, wine and corn, a little oil and silk, and a considerable quantity of tar, extracted from the pines. The hills, though not high, are often steep; they consist for the most part of a light-coloured clay, and being cut into deep ravines by the torrents, and extremely varied in their

[a] Δεκατία.

forms, they present a very picturesque scenery, quite peculiar to this district. Olympia was situated in the midst of this beautiful country. The hills are intersected by many small streams, flowing to the *Alpheius*, which winds along a narrow lower valley very subject to inundation.

Feb. 23.—*Elis* stood on the edge of the plain where the *Peneius* issues from the hills, on the northern side of one of them, at a distance of about eight miles by the road from Gastúni. The hill of *Elis* is conspicuous above the others by its superior height, its peaked form, and by a ruined tower on the summit. Both the height and the tower are now called Kaloskopí; a name which the Venetians, having translated it into Belvedere, applied to one of the five districts into which they divided the Moréa. But the most remarkable of all the natural features of this part of the *Eleia*, is the great insulated rock called the mountain of Portes or Sandaméri[a], two villages which are situated in a narrow valley watered by a branch of the *Peneius*, which separates the mountain of Portes from the great heights of O'lonos. The southern extremity of the rocky summit is about eight miles to the north-east of Kaloskopí. Near the foot of Kaloskopí are two or three small villages, which, from their standing on the site of

[a] Τὸ βουνὶ Πορταϊκὸν or Σανταμεριώτικον.

the ancient capital of this country, are called by the common name of Paleópoli. In that which is nearest to the hill I find the men and girls singing and dancing the Roméika[a], with the more diligence as to-morrow is the last day of Carnival, after which the fast of Lent begins. They break off as soon as I ride up, and in a few minutes bring me upwards of a hundred coins, one or two of which are Venetian and Dalmatian, the rest Greek, but for the most part in very bad preservation. They are found in ploughing the fields among the ruins.

Strabo represents the Peneius as flowing *through* the city of Elis[b]; at present there are no remains on the right bank, which is steep, and runs into the plain in the form of a long even slope, easily recognized at a distance. It seems therefore that all the public monuments were on the left bank of the stream; and this is confirmed in great measure by Pausanias not having made any allusion to the river in the course of his description of Elis. The ruins consist of several masses of Roman tile and mortar, with many wrought blocks of stone and fragments of sculpture scattered over a space

[a] The ancient κύκλιος χορός. For a proof of the ancient practice of the circular dance, see an Inscription which I copied at Acræphium in Bœotia, and lately published in the Museum Criticum.

[b] Strabo, p. 337.

of two or three miles in circumference. The most remarkable of the ruins is that of a square building of about twenty feet on the outside, which within is in the form of an octagon with niches. Like most of the other remains it is built of alternate strata of Roman tile and stone rubble.

Strabo[a] and Diodorus[b] assert, that Elis did not exist as a city until after the Persian war, when, according to Strabo, seven other neighbouring towns were united to Elis. On the other hand, it was the opinion of Pausanias, and of the natives themselves, that Elis had been founded, on the return of the Heracleidæ, by Oxylus the Ætolian; and Strabo himself admits, that it was the capital of the Epeii before the Trojan war. The probability is, that the town of Elis was at that time named Ephyra, and that it assumed under Oxylus, who enlarged it, the name which had before been applied to the district. This opinion is supported by a scholiast on the Odyssey, and it is conformable to Homer, who informs us that Ephyra was on the Selleeis; for that the Peneius was the Selleeis of the poet, there can be little doubt, as it is the only considerable river in this part of the country. Indeed, I think

[a] Strabo, p. 336. [b] Diod. l. II. c. 54.

Strabo himself was of this opinion, though an opposite meaning is conveyed by his corrupted text [a].

When Ephyra was the chief town of the Eleia, or κοίλη Ἦλις, Buprasium was the capital of the Epeii, and when the latter people obtained possession of Elis, their king, Augeias, fixed his residence at Ephyra. Such seems to have been the state of affairs at the time of the

[a] I allude particularly to the following passage:—

Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Χελωνάτα καὶ τῆς Κυλλήνης ὅ τε Πηνειὸς ἐκδίδωσι ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Σελλήεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποιητοῦ λεγόμενος ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Φολόης· ἐφ' ᾧ Ἔφυρα πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κειμένη τῇ ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤτοι ἡ αὐτὴ οὖσα τῇ Βοινώᾳ ἢ πλησίον ἐκείνης, διέχουσα τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, Strabo, p. 338. In the beginning of this passage I conceive that Strabo wrote Μετὰ τὸν Χελωνάταν καὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην: for if we revert to what precedes, we shall find that he is describing the coast of Eleia, beginning from the northern promontory Araxus [ἄκρα πρόσβορρος Ἄραξος]; he then proceeds to say—μετὰ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἡ Κυλλήνη, and, μετὰ Κυλλήνην ἀκρωτήριον Χελωνάτας: After these, (μετὰ τὸν Χ. καὶ τὴν Κ.) ὁ Πηνειὸς ἐκδίδωσι would correctly follow; the received text, on the contrary, is quite untrue, for there is not any river joining the sea between Chelonatas and Cyllene, two places, in fact, very near to each other. I should propose also, instead of καὶ ὁ Σελλήεις, to read ὁ καὶ Σελλήεις: for I conceive Strabo to have intended to say, that the Peneius was the same river as the Selleeis of the poet. He appears to have imagined that Ephyra stood at or near a place called Bœnoa or Œnoe, which must have been very near the mouth of the river, if the number of stades in the text (120) is accurate, the mouth of the Peneius being hardly so much from Elis. But, as I have already remarked, it is more probable that Ephyra was the same place as Elis itself.

Trojan armament. Notwithstanding the care of Oxylus, Elis appears, in consequence of the peculiar government and manners of the people, to have again declined, until after the Olympiad of Corœbus, B. C. 776, when the Eleians having wrested from the Pisatæ the possession of the Hierum of Jupiter Olympius, and having obtained the management of the quadrennial festival and contest, with all the power and influence annexed to that sacred charge, the city increased rapidly in importance. Herodotus informs us, that the Eleians sent an embassy to Psammis, king of Egypt, who lived about the year 600 B. C. Some of the earliest extant coins with the legend FAΛEION may be still more ancient; at least, they show the riches of Elis, as well as its connexion with Olympia, at a very early period. The brazen tablet, now in the British Museum, which records a treaty of alliance between the FAΛEIOI and EΥFAOIOI, may also be ascribed to the seventh century[a].

Gastúni is supplied with water for drinking

[a] Inscriptions of this remote antiquity are the more difficult to explain, as they are not only always dialectic, but often in forms to which we find nothing similar in later inscriptions in the same dialect. One can hardly suppose APXOI ΔEKATOI to have had any other meaning than ἐπὶ ἄρχῳ δεκάτῳ, Elis, perhaps, having been governed by decennial archons, as Athens was about the same

from the *Peneius;* it is clear and good even in this season of rain, and my host, the Doctor, assures me that it is wholesome. The district,

period. Ἀρχοὶ is the word applied to the Eleian leaders by Homer.

The following passage in the tablet,—

ΑΙ ΔΕ ΜΑ ΣΥΝΕΑΝ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΝ Κ'ΑΡΓΥΡΟ ΑΠΟΤΙΝΟΙΑΝ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΚΑΔΑΛΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΟΜΕΝΟΝ

is thus translated by Mr. Knight, "but if they do not so assist, let those who, by failing, may have violated the treaty, pay a talent of silver to Jupiter Olympius for sacred services." May it not rather be thus translated: "But if they do not so assist, let them pay a talent of silver to Jupiter Olympius, as men who have violated a thing sanctified"? καταδηλημένοι λατρειόμενον will then resemble the καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ' of Homer. M. Boeck (Inscr. Gr. Vol. I. p. 29.) has adopted the opinion that the word ΕVFΑΟΙΟΙΣ ought to be read ΕΡFΑΟΙΟΪΣ, and applied to Heræa. Allowing the second letter to be doubtful on the tablet, which I do not think, there are still some strong objections to his interpretation. These are, first, that the name of Juno on all the most ancient monuments is always preceded by H, or some other sign of an aspiration. Secondly, that no example can be found of a digamma between a P and a vowel, though it was used preceding a P. Thirdly, that the people of Heræa were called ΗΡΑΙΕΙΣ, which it seems impossible to convert into ΗΡΑΟΙΟΙ. I am inclined to think, that the people mentioned in the inscription were the inhabitants of the Arcadian city called by Stephanus Eva, though that may not have been correctly the ancient form of the word. The small towns of Arcadia were extremely numerous at a remote period, as their remains still testify; of many we have not even the names, and of others, the names of which occur in Pausanias and Stephanus, the situations are not known. Mr. Knight supposed Eva to have been one of the Eleian towns; but I cannot conceive that at the

exclusive of Pyrgo, has three ports [a]; that at which I disembarked at the mouth of the river, distant one hour; Glarántza, distant three hours; and Kunupéli, distant six hours. Ecclesiastically the district belongs to the bishopric of Olenus [b], a diocese of the ἐπαρχία, or province of the Metropolitan of Patra [c], which is bounded on the south by the *Alpheius*, where it borders on the province of Christianopolis or Arkadhía. Pyrgo is the usual residence of the Bishop of Olenus. The Vilayéti, or civil district, including Pyrgo, contains 140 villages, of which the largest next to Gastúni and Pyrgo, are Lekhená and Andravídha.

The name of Gastúni, otherwise Ghastúni [d], indicates a Frank origin: it was probably founded by some person of the name of Gaston, belonging to one of the French families, Champlite and Villehardouin, which, about the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, established a principality in the north of the Moréa. After the Turks had recovered the Moréa from the Venetians in 1715, the Sultan gave the Mukatá of the district of Gastúni as a malikhiané, or farm for life, to Khotmán Oglú

date of this inscription any of those towns were in a condition to make a treaty, on equal terms, with Elis.

[a] Σκάλαις or σκαλώματα.
[b] Τοῦ Ὠλένου.
[c] Τῶν Παλαιῶν Πατρῶν.
[d] Γκαστούνιον or Γαστούνιον.

and his descendants, the Greeks, by the imperial firmahn, remaining in possession of the lands. The most important part of the Mukatá was the Dhekatía, or tithe of a seventh on the cultivated land, and the Gumrúk [a], i. e. the customs on maritime commerce, levied at the seven ports of Kunupéli, Glarántza, Kóraka or Potámi, (the mouth of the *Peneius*,) Pyrghí, (between Potámi and Cape Katákolo, below the convent of Skafídhia,) port Katákolo, Rufiá, (the mouth of the *Alpheius*,) and Ai Isídhoro. The other articles of the Mukatá were the fisheries of the four lagoons of Kotýkhi, Paleá Bukka, (or St. John near Pyrgo,) Agulenítza, and Khaiáffa,—the νόμισγον, or tax of one asper a head on cattle, sheep, and goats,—the γουρουνιάτικον, or four paras a head on hogs,—the μελισσιάτικον, or two paras a swarm on bees. Such was the imperial ordinance which, in rewarding the services of a Turkish officer, had in view the protection of the industry of the Greeks. Since that time, however, the execrable government of the Moréa, added to local tyranny, has reduced the Greeks of Gastúni to such distress, that all the cultivated land is now in the hands of Turks, and the Greek population have become cattle feeders, or mere la-

[a] Τουάνα, dogana.

bourers for the Turkish possessors of the soil. The Greeks finding more profit and safety in the former pursuit, the flocks increase, while the arable is constantly diminishing from a want of hands, as the Turk is too proud or lazy to work in the fields.

The chief produce of the arable land of Gastúni is flax [a], wheat [b], and two kinds of Holcus, both called Kalambókki [c]; namely, maize [d] and the dhurra of Egypt, called, from the smallness of the grain, Small Kalambókki [e]. For flax the land is once ploughed in the spring, and two or three times in the ensuing autumn with a pair of oxen, when the seed is thrown in and covered with the plough. The plant does not require and hardly admits of weeding, as it grows very thick. When ripe it is pulled up by the roots, and laid in bundles [f] in the sun. It is then thrashed [g] to separate the seed; the bundles are laid in the river for five days, then dried in the sun, and pressed in a wooden machine. Contrary to its ancient reputation, the flax of Gastúni is not very fine, which my informant ascribes to its being exposed to the cold and running water of the river, instead of

[a] Λινάρι. [b] Σιτάρι.
[c] Καλαμπόκκι.
[d] Ἀραμποσίτι or Ἀραβόσταρι.
[e] Ψιλὸ καλαμπόκκι.
[f] Σκουλίδαις.
[g] Ῥαβδίζεται.

being soaked in ponds; it is chiefly used in the neighbouring islands by the peasants, who weave it into cloths for their own use.

The wheat grown in the plain is the hard red wheat called Ghiriniá [a]. In the hills the white kind of Rusiá [b] is used. Land being plentiful, there is no regular succession of crops, and a fallow of two years is common. New land, or fallow [c] is ploughed in the spring, and if there is rain, it is sown at the third ploughing with cotton, kalambókki, and sometimes with aniseed. Wheat, on secondary land, is sown in October [d], on the richest in November, December, and sometimes as late as the middle of January, if an excess of rain prevent its being done before. The proportion of seed is usually half a vatzéli [e], or measure of thirteen okes [f] to a strema [g], or square of nineteen fathoms [h] the side. A fall of rain in March, and another in April are reckoned sufficient; if there is more, thistles [i], tares [k], centauries [l], and golden this-

[a] Γηρηνιὰς.
[b] Ῥουσιὰς ὁ ἄσπρος.
[c] Ἡ χέρσος or χέρσα.
[d] The old style is here followed.
[e] Βατζέλι.
[f] An oke is 2¾lbs. avoirdupoise.
[g] Στρέμα.
[h] Ὀργυίαις. An ὀργυιὰ is six Greek feet; but the common definition of it is the distance between the extremities of the two middle fingers when the arms are at full stretch.
[i] Ἀκάνθαις. [k] Ἀγριοκούκια.
[l] Φαλαρίδαις.

tles[a], gain head, and choke[b] the corn. The other plagues are a black winged insect called Vromúsa[c], from its bad smell, and rain in May, which injures the blossom.

Harvest begins about June 10th, in the plain, in the hills it does not finish generally till July 20th, or beginning of August, new style. The grain is trodden out on the threshing floor[d] by horses, when the Mukátasi takes his tithe. Good land produces ten, and sometimes thirteen to one. The corn of Gastúni weighs about twenty-six okes, the kilo of Constantinople.

The kalambókkia of both kinds may be either dry[e], or irrigated by art[f]; the first mode produces the better grain, the latter the more plentiful crop. Both require the best land. After three or four ploughings in the spring, the seed is ploughed in about the end of April, in the proportion of one vatzéli to sixteen strémata. The land is then levelled with an instrument called the σβάρνα[g]. This svárna is a piece of wood six feet long and one foot thick, which is fixed to the plough[h] after the share[i] is taken off, and is driven about the field while the la-

[a] Σκολιάμβροι. In other places called σκόλυμος or ἀσκόλυμβρος, (the σκόλυμος of Dioscorides).

[b] Ἀποπνίγουν.

[c] Βρομοῦσα.

[d] Ἀλώνι.

[e] Ξερικὰ.

[f] Ποτιστικὰ.

[g] Σβαρνίζεται.

[h] Ζυγός.

[i] Ἄροτρον.

bourer stands upon it; it breaks the clods, and levels the ground. A very dry summer is injurious to the dry, and a very rainy August to both kinds of kalambókki. The harvest begins in the middle of September. The return of maize is thirty or forty to one. The stalk makes excellent fodder for cattle. The small kalambókki is used chiefly for feeding fowls; and the quantity raised is not very great.

For cotton the best land is chosen, and that which can be easily irrigated. The seed is soaked in water two or three days, and then mixed and rubbed together with earth, that the grains may not cohere, but may be well scattered in sowing. The seed time is the same as that of kalambókki, namely, the end of April, or beginning of May [a], the proportion of seed, half a vatzéli to a strema: the seed is ploughed in, and the land levelled with the svárna; the harvest is in the beginning of September.

In the lands of Gastúni the Greek metayer is at all the expenses, and receives two-thirds of the produce after the Mukátasi has taken a seventh for his dhekatía.

A flock of sheep [b] consists of 500, two-thirds of which are ewes: it is attended by three men

[a] Τὸν Ἀπριλο-Μάϊον. [b] Ἕνα κοπάδι.

and a boy, and four or five dogs. Nothing is paid for pasture except one asper and a half a head to the Spahí of the village to which the pasture belongs. The tax to government[a] is now one asper and a half a head per annum; besides a para a head on the fleece[b]. Neither sheep nor goats are ever fed: the pasture is changed three or four times in the summer. The profits of a flock are derived from the lambs, the wethers, the milk, the fleece, and the skin. Four rams are sufficient for one hundred ewes. In warm situations near the sea, they are put together about July 20th[c], that the lambs may be dropt about December 20th. In colder places the rams are not admitted till August 6th[c], that the ewes may lamb about January 6th. In two months the lambs are weaned, but for another month they are allowed to suck a little after the ewes are milked. A lamb that has been fed entirely upon milk for three months, will sell at Easter, when the great consumption of lambs takes place, for four, five or six piastres. In March the ewes are separated,

[a] Τὸ βασιλικὸν νόμισμα.

[b] Three aspers [ἄσπρα] make a para [παράς], forty paras a piastre [γρόσι], 500 piastres a purse [πούγγι]. The piastre in the year 1805 was equal to about fifteen pence sterling.

[c] These days are named, because they are Greek feasts; the former is St. Elias, the latter the Metamórphosis or Transfiguration.

and for the three following months are milked twice a-day, then once a-day for a month, and in July once in two or three days. A good ewe gives at every milking a pound[a] of milk, of which are made butter[b], cheese[c], misíthra[d], and yaourt[e]. For butter the milk is left twenty-four hours to become sour, when it is beaten in a narrow cask with a stick until the butter swims at the top; the butter-milk is then mixed with an equal quantity of milk, and forms the tyrógalo[f], or milk for making cheese. Salted rennet is thrown into it when warmed. As soon as it is coagulated, it is beaten up until it resembles milk again, after which the cheese is allowed to separate, is then put into a form of cloth, or wood, or rushes, and squeezed dry by the hand. The remaining liquid is called nerógalo[g], milk-water.

To make misíthra. The nerógalo after the cheese has been extracted is placed upon the fire; about a tenth of milk is added to it, and after a short boiling the misíthra is collected on the surface. Goat's milk makes the best misíthra, even though the butter has been extracted from it.

Yaourt, which seems to be a Tartar invention introduced into Greece by the Turks, is made

[a] Λίτρα. [b] Βούτυρον. [c] Τυρὶ. [d] Μισήθρα.
[e] Γιαγούρτι. [f] Τυρόγαλον. [g] Νερόγαλον, or γαλόνερον.

from the best milk of sheep or goats. To make the πητυὰ, or coagulum—take some leaven of bread, that is to say, flour and water turned sour, and squeeze a lemon upon it, dissolve it in boiling milk, and keep it twenty-four hours. To make the yaourt—boil some new milk till it foams, stirring it frequently, leave it till it is cool enough for the finger to bear the heat; then throw in the pityá, of which a Turkish coffee-cup full [a] is sufficient to make several quarts of yaourt. Then cover it that it may not cool too fast, and in three hours it is fit for use. On all future occasions a cup of the old yaourt is the best pityá for the new.

The sheep-shearing takes place from April 20th to May 10th; no washing or preparation of any kind is thought necessary; it is performed with scissars. The ewes give about three, the males four pounds of wool, which now sells for about ten paras the pound. About three-fourths of the wool produced in the district is exported, the remainder is wrought at home into coarse cloaks [b], or into carpeting, or the furniture of beds and sofas [c]. An ewe's or wether's skin, unshorn, is worth thirty or thirty-five paras; a ram's, forty or forty-five paras; a lamb's, ten. The curriers purchase them,

[a] Φλιτζάνι. [b] Ῥᾶσα. [c] Σκεπάσματα, ἀντρομήδαις, βελέντζαις.

make some into leather at Gastúni, and send the rest to the islands.

The flocks suffer occasionally from wolves and jackalls. The principal disease of the sheep is called the evloghiá or plague[a]; it carries off great numbers, but seldom occurs oftener than once in five or six years, and is not peculiar to any season. They have a practice of inoculating for this distemper, by taking a small quantity of matter[b] from an ulcer of the diseased sheep[c], and rubbing the ear of the still healthy sheep with it; it is confessed, however, that little benefit is derived from this process. If the evloghiá carries off half the ἀκέντρωτα, or uninoculated, perhaps sixty per cent. of the inoculated[d] may live. Another disorder is called kholiánitza[e], which is supposed to proceed from unwholesome food. The vidhéla[f] is ascribed to feeding in marshy places in August and September, when it is imagined that an insect[g] from the plant finds its way to the sheep's liver.

From the middle of June till the autumn the sheep feed only in the night, and require water once a day. There are supposed to be about 300,000 sheep and goats in the Vilayéti of

[a] Εὐλογιὰ.
[b] Μάρτζο, marcia.
[c] Τοῦ βλογιασμένου προβάτου.
[d] Κεντρωμένα.
[e] Χολιάνιτζα, from χολιὰ, gall.
[f] Βιδέλα.
[g] Ζωύφι.

Gastúni, besides which, 150,000 come from the mountainous parts of the neighbouring districts in the winter. These pay two aspers a-head to the Spahí, instead of one and a half. The proportion of goats to sheep is about a fourth.

The uncultivated land [a] serves for the pasture of cattle as well as sheep; the first year the calf is called *μοσκάρι*, the second *παλεομόσκι*, the third *δαμάλι*, afterwards *βοΐδι*. The herds of Gastúni supply Zákytho and the other islands with beef in considerable quantities. In the Moréa, beef is little used; and they would rather give fifteen paras an oke for goat's flesh, or eighteen for mutton, than ten for beef. But there is a constant demand in the Moréa for cattle for the plough, both oxen and buffalos. A good pair of oxen costs one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty piastres; a bull about thirty-five; a cow sixteen to twenty. When natural fodder is scarce, oxen are fed with wheaten straw, with the róvi [b], or with vetches and tares [c], which are sown for the purpose and plucked up by the roots; but poverty and oppression prevent the proprietor of oxen from cultivating this useful provision for his cattle, and in summer they are almost starved. Like the sheep, the ox is occasionally subject to a peculiar epidemical disorder [d]. On these

[a] Ἡ χέρσος. [b] Ῥόβι, orobus. [c] Ἀγριοκούκι. [d] Βοΐδο-πανοῦκλα.

occasions there are some quacks of cow-leeches who administer a herb, which they pretend to bring from Filiatrá, but, as may be supposed, without much effect. Ox-hides are exported to Zákytho; but there is a great internal consumption of them here also, as the shoes [a], both of the cultivators [b] and shepherds [c], are made of ox-hide.

Corinth is reckoned to possess the best race of cattle, and bulls have sometimes been brought from thence to Gastúni, to improve the breed; but the cattle of *Elis* are still inferior to those of the *Corinthia*.

Feb. 24.—At 9.15, that is to say, at 15 minutes past 9 o'clock, English time, I quit Gastúni for Pyrgo, leaving my baggage to follow the next day. The road is muddy and difficult from the quantity of rain that has fallen in the night. At a little village I observe some tall aloes [d] in blossom, exactly of the same kind I have seen in Sicily and the West Indies: near this place, at 10.30, we cross a stream running towards the sea. At 11.40, on passing another small river, arrive at the foot of a low and long ridge, which, projecting from the *Eleian* hills, terminates in Capè Katákolo, and separates the district of Gastúni from that of Pyrgo. This height consists of a barren

[a] τζαρούχια. [b] γεωργοὶ. [c] βοσκοὶ. [d] agave.

gravelly soil, covered with shrubs of various kinds: on all the uncultivated grounds the ranunculus[a] is just coming into blossom in great abundance. At 12.30, having passed the ridge, we enter the plain of Pyrgo. On the right are the villages of Myrtiá, Pondikó-kastro, and Skuro-khóri in that order. Pondikó-kastro stands upon a very conspicuous pointed hill, which exactly at the inner angle of the bay of Pyrgo forms an isthmus, uniting the promontory of Katákolo with the main. I can perceive with the telescope some remains of Hellenic work among the ruined walls.

Below Pondikó-kastro, to the south, is the skala, or port, called Katákolo, where are some magazines; on the road from thence towards Pyrgo is the village of Aiánni[b], where, some years ago, was found a large statue, and more recently a small head, now in the possession of Kyr Ghiorgáki of Pyrgo. Aiánni is probably the site of *Letrini*. Near this place begins the lagoon which extends along the sea-coast as far as opposite to Pyrgo, or about half way to the mouth of the *Alpheius*. At 1.20 we arrive at a stream flowing from the hills, which is so swollen by the rains that, being unable to pass it, we ascend the right bank for a mile to Djóia[c],

[a] σφεξδούκλι or σφουξδουκάκλο. [b] Αἰάννι, the vulgar form of Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης, St. John. [c] Τζόγια.

there cross the river at a mill, and then, passing over a point of the hill, descend again into the plain, and arrive at Pyrgo at 3. Ride in the oriental style without ceremony into the hospitable gates of George Avgherinó[a], more commonly called Kyr Ghiorgáki.

Feb. 25.—To *Olympia*:—For about half a mile we follow the Arkadhía road, parallel to the sea shore; and then turn to the left towards the hills,—enter the valley of the *Alpheius*, now called the Ruféa or Rufiá, at the end of three miles and a half, and then pass for another mile and a half along the foot of the hills which close the valley on the north. On both sides they are clothed with large pine trees. In summer, when the banks of the *Alpheius* are rich with wheat and Indian corn, the scenery must be beautiful, though the river perhaps may be a finer object in the present season. It is now full and rapid, but turbid; in summer the stream, though much clearer, is scanty, and divided into several torrents running over a wide gravelly bed. The large sandy tracts in some parts of the valley show the effects of its occasional inundations. Indeed the Pyrghiotes do not speak with much reverence of the river god, who sometimes does great injury to their profitable kalambókki grounds on his banks.

[a] Αὐγερινὸς.

The valley is from half a mile to a mile in breadth, and at the end of two miles is narrowed by a projection of the northern hills, opposite to which, on the southern heights, stands the village of Volántza[a]. Beyond this strait the valley suddenly expands into a plain surrounded by pine-clad hills. Having crossed the projecting height, we descend into this plain, and soon afterwards cross the river Lestenítza over a bridge. It is a large stream flowing from a narrow valley in the direction of Mount O'lonos, and crosses the plain in a southerly direction. On the left is the village of Stréfi[b], on the summit of a hill; it is a tjiftlik, or farm, belonging to Mustafá Agá.

From the river the plain is three or four miles over to the village of Floka[c] situated on the side of a range of hills, which form the eastern boundary of the plain, and which, advancing to the *Alpheius*, leave only a narrow passage for the river between these hills and the range which follows its left bank. This strait may be considered the division between the plain watered by the Lestenítza, which we have passed, and the valley of *Pisa* or *Olympia*. The common route passes through Floka, and over the hills, on the top of which are some huts called Bruma; it then descends by a fountain

[a] Βολάντζα. [b] Στρέφη, or Στρεύη. [c] Φλάκα.

into the valley of the *Cladeus*, crosses this stream at a mill, and from thence leads to the modern village Miráka. The ignorance of my conductor carries me to the right of Floka, close to the Ruféa, from whence we cross the hill by a romantic rocky pass into the valley of *Olympia*, which lengthens the road by a mile. The pass is extremely beautiful, the sides of the hills being covered with pines in fine copses and clusters. On the opposite bank of the *Alpheius* there is a little village of thatched huts, with one stone house. The *Cladeus* comes down a narrow valley, running parallel to that of the Lestenítza: the road to Lalla ascends its left bank; it joins the *Alpheius* half a mile below the mill which I have mentioned as being in the direct road.

This mill is attached to the remains of an ancient building of brick in the bed of the river, on the left bank of the actual stream. This ruin is the first vestige of *Olympia* that the traveller meets with on arriving from Lalla, or from Pyrgo; next occurs a shapeless ruin of tiles on the summit of the bank on the same side of that river. A little farther, just where the valley of the *Cladeus* opens into that of the *Alpheius*, there is a tumulus of an oval form, with a tree on the top of it, and near it, at the foot of the adjoining mountain, undoubtedly the ancient *Cro-*

nium, there is another fragment of the same description. From hence the vale of *Olympia* is well seen. To the eastward extends a level included between an irregular line of woody summits and the *Alpheius*. It is closed in that direction, at the distance of a mile, by a peaked hill, which rises from the river's bank, and which is separated only from the woody range on the north of the valley, by a pass leading to Miráka. This height, therefore, may be considered the eastern termination of the *Pisæan* valley, as that by which I came from Floka is the western. The length of the valley is about three miles, the greatest breadth less than one.

About two hundred yards southward of the tumulus, I arrive at the foundation of a temple, which has been excavated by the Agás of Lalla for the sake of the materials, almost all of which have been carried away to Lalla or Miráka. The foundation stones are large quadrangular masses of a very friable limestone, composed of an aggregate of shells,—it is the same kind of rock of which all the neighbouring mountains are formed, the ἐπιχώριος πῶρος of Pausanias[a]. The blocks are put together in the best Greek style.

[a] Πῶρος, or πωρινὸς λίθος, seems to have been an expression analogous to our *free-stone*. Some kinds of πῶρος, however, were as hard as Parian marble, but lighter. Theophr. de Lap. — Plin. H. N. l. xxxvi. c. 17.

Among these foundations I find some pieces of fluted Doric columns of white marble, and a single fragment of a Doric shaft of *poros*, of such an enormous size as to leave little doubt that these poor remains are those of the celebrated temple of Jupiter. The only measurable dimension of the great column is the chord of the fluting, which exceeds a foot, and, according to the usual number of flutings in the Doric order, would require a shaft of at least seven feet in diameter. It may be inferred from this fact that the temple was a hexastyle: for Pausanias informs us, that it was ninety-five Greek feet broad, and two hundred and thirty long, or very nearly of the same size as the Parthenon; whereas, had it been an octastyle with such columns, its length and breadth must have been much greater. The same inference may be drawn from the temple having been sixty-eight feet high, or eight feet and a half higher than the Parthenon; for the columns, being larger, would, with the usual Doric proportions, be higher also than those of the Parthenon [a].

[a] Mr. Cockerell has since discovered sufficient traces of the peristyle, cella, and opisthodomus, to enable him to prove, not only that the temple was a hexastyle, but that it faced the east; and that the length, breadth, and height mentioned by Pausanias are correct. The length and breadth are, indeed, rather less than Pausanias has given; but this may be accounted for by the supposition that Pau-

In front of these remains, proceeding towards the *Alpheius*, I find a fourth mass of brick ruin, and nearly in the opposite direction a fifth, which is the best preserved of these fragments. It stands on the edge of a bank where the upper level, on which stood the temple of Jupiter, falls suddenly into a lower level, extending to the river; the ruined wall supports the bank, and makes it more abrupt in that part; there are some remains of arches and chambers in this ruin. The similarity of workmanship in these remains and those of *Elis*, seems to shew, that in this province the kind of masonry which may properly be termed Hellenic, was not so much in use as in other parts of Greece; probably in consequence of stone not being so plentiful, or of its being of a very perishable consistency.

The small bank which I have just noticed, and which is not so much as twenty feet high in any part, is one of the most remarkable features in the topography of Olympia; it is the boundary of two separate levels in the vale of Olympia, and forms an irregular curve round the lower level, beginning westward from the bank of the *Alpheius*, below the temple of Jupiter, and terminating eastward at the pass already

sanias took his measurement, not on the upper stylobate, but on an exterior foundation.

mentioned, which leads to Miráka. Though this bank is undoubtedly natural, it appears to have been in many places supported by art, and I suspect that it formed one of the boundaries of the Altis, of which the western limit was the Cladeus, as Xenophon distinctly indicates [a], and as may be inferred from Pausanias [b], who places on the west side of the Cladeus the sepulchre of the Arcadians who fell at the battle in the Altis, as well as a ruined building called the stable of Œnomaus, and the sepulchre of Œnomaus, which, according to Pindar [c], was near the Alpheius [d]. Thus it appears that the temple of Jupiter stood in a central position on the upper level, nearly equidistant from the *bank*, from Mount Cronium, and from the Cladeus; the latter flows in a hollow bed, the depth of which is about equal to the height of the pavement of the temple of Jupiter above the lower level, or that of the Alpheius itself. One can hardly doubt that all the buildings of Olympia stood upon this upper level for the sake of security from the inundations, to which the lower plain must have been continually subject. The upper level is smooth, and covered with a fine turf for a considerable distance to the eastward

[a] . . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ, ὃς παρὰ τὴν Ἄλτιν καταῤῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει. Xenoph. Hellen. l. vii. c. 4.

[b] Paus. l. vi. c. 20, 21.

[c] Pind. Olymp. i. v. 148.

[d] Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ.

of the temple; its continuation to the westward of the Cladeus is more rugged, and is overgrown with bushes.

The hills which close the Pisæan valley on the south are much higher than the range of Cronium, and rise almost immediately from the river's bank. Above them in front, bearing nearly south, is seen a peaked mountain near the modern village Smerna; and to its left, at about half the distance, appears a bare summit, the slope of which, in the direction of Olympia, terminates in one part in a lofty precipitous rock, distant about a quarter of a mile from the river; this precipice corresponds exactly to the Mount Typæum of Pausanias, which was held out as an object of terror to prevent any women from attending the games, and those dwelling on the south side of the Alpheius from even crossing the river on forbidden days, it being a law, which however was never executed, that females so transgressing should be precipitated from the rock Typæum. The Cladeus, on reaching within a few yards of the Alpheius, to the south-west of the temple of Jupiter, instead of joining that river, turns off to the west, forming a large peninsula, bordered on the opposite side by the Alpheius. Nearly opposite to the mouth of the Cladeus, but divided from it by islands, a small stream joins the Alpheius on

the left bank, flowing from a valley in which the village of Rasa is situated. This rivulet seems to be the ancient Selinus, and the vale that of Scillus. Eastward of the height which closes the plain of Olympia, there is another valley of the same kind, inclosed by wooded hills, and watered by a rivulet, probably the ancient Harpinnates, above the left bank of which, nearly a mile distant from the *Alpheius*, stands the little village of Miráka.

The position of *Olympia* is now called Andílalo [a]. It might be supposed that this word, meaning in modern Greek *echo*, was derived from some remarkable reverberation of sound caused by the ancient buildings, when their ruins were more considerable than they are at present, especially when we connect this supposition with the fact mentioned by Pausanias, that the Stoa Pœcile was remarkable for repeating an echo seven or eight times [b]. I am persuaded, however, that the word means nothing more than "opposite to Lalla," the change of termination and accent being such as is common in modern Greek compound words, as in the instance of παλαιοφάναρο, paleo-fánaro, in a single word, for παλαιὸν φανάρι, old beacon, which is the name of a modern village near the

[a] Ἀντίλαλο. [b] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 21.

left bank of the *Alpheius*, above Miráka, where are said to be some Hellenic remains, probably those of *Phrixa*. I am told that Andílalo was a village standing on the side of the hill opposite to the mill in the *Cladeus* which I have noticed, and that the mill belonged to it; not a vestige of the village is now to be seen.

At Olympia, as in many other celebrated places in Greece, the scenery and topography are at present much more interesting than the ancient remains. At a more advanced season of the year, when the plane trees in the lower valley near the bank of the river are in full foliage, the valley must be one of the most beautiful of this picturesque country. The hills which rise from the northern and eastern sides of the upper level where the ruins are situated, as well as those on the opposite side of the Alpheius, are of the wildest forms, carpeted with the finest turf, and shaded with the pine, wild olive, and a variety of shrubs. Some of the accidental clusters of pines dispersed on the sides and summits of these hills might serve as studies to the artist in landscape gardening. But the whole is little better than a beautiful desert; in the length of three miles, only a few spots of cultivation are seen, and not a single habitation. What a contrast to the spectacle which it presented during eleven or twelve centuries, espe-

cially at the end of every four years, when it was the scene of the greatest of those periodical exercises of emulation which contributed so much to Grecian excellence both in arts and arms,—when, adorned in the centre with the finest monuments of art, it was animated in every part with horses, chariots, and men in the highest state of excitement, or covered with the encampments of those who had resorted to the festival from every country which had felt the effects of Grecian civilization!

It would be in vain to attempt to trace the description of Olympia by Pausanias without extensive excavations. The only monument of the position of which there is any certainty, is the temple of Jupiter; for I find it utterly impossible to verify M. Fauvel's[a] discovery of a Hippodrome, Stadium, and theatre. As to the existence of a theatre at Olympia at any time, it rests upon a single expression of Xenophon. In describing the battle between the Arcadians and Eleians in the Altis, at the time of the celebration of the games of the 104th Olympiad, B. C. 364, he relates that the Eleians drove the enemy as far as the ground which lay between the council-house[b], the sanctuary

[a] Analyse des Cartes de la Grèce, Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, Vol. I. p. 6.

[b] Βουλευτήριον.

of Vesta [a], and the adjoining theatre [b], and even as far as the altar [c], meaning probably the great altar of Jupiter, which was in front of the temple of Jupiter and Juno, but nearer to the latter [d]: but that the Eleians being assailed from the stoæ and council-house, and the great temple, retreated with the loss of their leader. Now Pausanias, in making mention of the same buildings, (the sanctuary of Vesta he describes as a part of the Prytaneium,) says not a word of a theatre, which, even if it had been but of small dimensions, must have been a very important object in such a confined place as the Altis. Either there is some very extraordinary omission in Pausanias, or *θεάτρου* has been substituted for some other word in our copies of Xenophon.

Like some other Hiera in Greece at which athletic contests were celebrated, Olympia consisted only of a sacred grove, a stadium, and a hippodrome, but it was on a larger scale than any similar establishment. The Ἄλση, which most resembled it, were those of Nemea and the

[a] Ἑστίας ἱερὸν.

[b] Καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου.

[c] Πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν.

[d] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 13. The Pelopium was near the north side of the temple of Jupiter, in a line with its back front, and the great altar stood in front of the Pelopium and temple of Juno, equidistant from both.

Isthmus. The Altis[a] appears, from Pausanias, to have been surrounded with a wall, and to have had at least four entrances: 1. That used for all sacred processions, hence called the Pompic[b]. 2. That which led to the embolus, or starting place of the hippodrome[c]. 3. A third, which is described only as being beyond or over against the gymnasium[d], and near the Prytaneium[e]. 4. A fourth entrance of the Altis led to the Stadium[f]. But there was also an entrance into the Stadium called the Secret[g], as being used only by the Hellanodicæ and Agonistæ. The way to it was from the Metroum, by the foot of Mount Cronium[h]; and hence also it would seem to follow, that there must have been a fifth entrance into the Altis near the Metroum.

The temples within the Altis were, 1. The temple of Jupiter, which contained the cele-

[a] Ἄλτις, an old Peloponnesian form of Ἄλσος.—To place their temples in groves was one of those earliest customs of the Greeks which continue to the present day. Hence among the ancients the word ἄλσος was used for the whole sacred inclosure, often comprehending several temples, and sometimes without a single tree in it. Strabo, p. 412.

[b] Ἡ Πομπικὴ. Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 15.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Τοῦ γυμνασίου πεῤαν.

[e] Κατὰ τὸ Πρυτάνειον. Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 15, 20.

[f] Ἡ εἴσοδος ἣ ἀγούσι ἐς τὸ Στάδιον. Id. ibid. c. 22.

[g] Ἡ κρυπτὴ.

[h] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 21.—Eliac. post. c. 20.

brated chryselephantine seated Colossus by Phidias, two colossal compositions in marble in the Aeti, two works in relief over the door of the cella and opisthodomus, and a few dedications in the cella and pronaos. 2. The temple of Juno, the most ancient building at Olympia[a], and which preserved the memory of a still older temple of wood, by having one of the two columns of the opisthodomus made of that material. The temple was peripteral, and, according to the text of Pausanias, only sixty feet long, probably an error in the text, as such dimensions even if applied, as we can hardly suppose to have been the intention of Pausanias, to the interior of the cella, would have been incapable of containing the numerous objects described by him. This temple, in the time of Pausanias, seems, as being the oldest building at Olympia, to have been a receptacle for its antiquities, several of which had originally occupied other situations in the Altis. The object in it most particularly described by Pausanias was the box of Cypselus. 3. The Metroum, or temple of the Mother of the Gods, which is described

[a] For an elaborate critical dissertation on these two buildings, and the works in ivory and gold which they contained, see Le Jup. Olympien by M. Quatremère de Quincy, who proceeds, however, on the erroneous supposition of the temple of Jupiter having been an octastyle.

by Pausanias as a large Doric temple. It contained only statues of the Roman emperors, and appears to have been situated towards the foot of Mount Cronium [a]. The Philippeium was a circular building of brick, surrounded with columns, and crowned with a dome, on the summit of which there was a brazen poppy serving as a key-stone. It was dedicated by Philip after the battle of Chæroneia, and contained five chryselephantine statues of the royal family of Macedonia, by Leochares. It stood within the Altis, near the left hand of the exit, which was near the Prytaneium [b]. The Theecaleon [c], the Stoa Pœcile [d], and the Hippodamium [e], were also edifices within the Altis; the latter, like the Pelopium, was only a sacred enclosure [f], surrounded with a low wall [g]; the Pelopium was about half the length of the temple of Jupiter, and contained trees and statues [h]. The Hippodamium comprehended a space of about a plethrum of ground, and seems therefore to have been nearly of the same size as the Pelopium: it stood near the Pompic entrance [i]. There were two other remarkable objects with-

[a] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 21.
[b] Id. ibid. c. 20.
[c] Id. ibid. c. 15.
[d] Id. ibid. c. 21.
[e] Id. ibid. c. 22.—Eliac. post. c. 20.
[f] Τέμενος.
[g] Θρίγκος.
[h] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 13.
[i] Id. Eliac. post. c. 20.

in the Altis; namely, a wooden column, said to have belonged to the house of Œnomaus, which was protected from the weather by a roof supported by four columns; it stood between the great altar of Jupiter and the temple of Jupiter, consequently in front of the Pelopium; the other was an olive tree, called Callistephanus, from which the olive crowns of the victorious athletæ were gathered; it stood near the back of the temple of Jupiter [a]. The remainder of the Altis was filled either with altars, statues of deities, and sacred dedications [b], or with those of athletæ, the admission of which into the sacred place was one of the rewards of their victories [c]. Of the altars the most considerable was the great altar of Jupiter, the outer foundation of which was 125 feet in circumference.

On the outside of the Pompic entrance of the Altis was the Leonidæum, divided from the Pompic way by a narrow passage called the Street [d]: not far from the same position, on the outside also of the Altis, was the workshop of Phidias [e]. On the foot of Mount Cronium, proceeding from the Metroum to the Stadium,

[a] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 15.

[b] Τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον.

[c] Ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ. Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 21.

[d] Ἀγυιὰ, the Elcian word for the Attic στενωπὸς.

[e] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 15.

was a foundation [a] of stone with steps; it supported Zanes, or statues of Jupiter, which had been erected from fines imposed upon those who had been guilty of fraud, or other irregularity, in the Olympic contests: the fifteenth and sixteenth of these statues of Jupiter are stated by Pausanias to have been on either side of the entrance into the Stadium [b], probably the entrance called Crypte, or the Secret. At the foot also of Mount Cronium, on the north side of the temple of Juno, there was another foundation, which supported ten treasuries erected by different Grecian states; they were constructions of the same kind as those which are described by Pausanias at Delphi, and contained statues and other curious or valuable dedications [c]. Northward again of the treasuries, between them and the steep part of the mountain, were the double temple of Lucina and Sosipolis, and the ruins of a temple of Venus Urania [d].

The situation of the Altis and Mount Cronium being determined, the next problem is the position of the Stadium, and the direction of its axis or length. According to Strabo, the Stadium was in front of the temple of Jupiter in a wood

[a] Κρηπὶς.

[b] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 21.

[c] Pausan. Eliac. post. c. 19.

[d] Id. ibid. c. 20.

of wild olives [a], which, as the temple fronted the east, places the Stadium on the continuation of the upper level eastward of the site of the Altis. In fact, unless it was on the plain towards the Alpheius, it must have been in this situation, since we have already seen, from Xenophon and Pausanias, that the Cladeus bounded the Altis on the west. Strabo, indeed, seems to denote the Alpheius as flowing by the Stadium, but I conceive him to have meant only that it flowed (generally speaking) by the site of Olympia: and this interpretation is confirmed by Pausanias, who mentions the river at the beginning of his description in the same general way, and never has occasion to speak of it in the course of his details; thus favouring the opinion that it did not immediately border either the Altis or the Stadium. As to the Hippodrome, the usual length of these monuments having been two stadia [b], there was not sufficient space for it anywhere but in the lower part of the plain, south-eastward of the Altis, between it and the river; and I am inclined to think, that the side of the Hippodrome, which Pausanias describes as an artificial embankment, was parallel to the river,

[a] Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ Πισάτιδι τὸ ἱερὸν . . . . πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος ἀγριελαίων, ἐν ᾧ τὸ στάδιον· παραρρεῖ δ' ὁ Ἀλφειός. Strabo, p. 353.

[b] Pausan. Eliac. post. c. 16. J. Poll. l. 3. c. 30.

and was raised for the purpose of securing the Hippodrome from its inundations. The mode in which the Stadium and Hippodrome were connected, could not, I think, have been very different from the representation of it by M. Barbié du Bocage in his otherwise very indefensible plan of Olympia.

The place which formed the connexion was called the Hippaphesis, or starting place of the horses; in form it resembled the prow of a ship, the head, or Embolus, as it was thence called, being the entrance into the Hippodrome, and the opposite end being formed by the rectilinear extremity of the Stadium, along which there was a portico called the Stoa of Agaptus. On the two other sides of the Hippaphesis were ranges of apartments for containing horses and chariots; these sides were upwards of 400 feet long, converging towards the Embolus, or entrance of the Hippodrome, and probably slightly curved for the sake only of a more beautiful shape. At the Embolus there must have been space sufficient for the contending chariots to be drawn up abreast, after they had come out of the apartments on the two opposite sides of the Hippaphesis in regular order, beginning with the two chambers nearest to the Stoa of Agaptus, and ending with the two nearest to the Embolus[a].

[a] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 15.—Eliac. post. c. 20.

It must follow, I think, from this arrangement of the Hippaphesis, that the axis of the Stadium was in a north and south direction, its circular end resting upon, and perhaps partly formed out of, the side of Mount Cronium, or rather of its prolongation eastward, and the rest formed, as Pausanias describes it, of an artificial embankment[a]. The Stadium, thus placed upon ground rather higher than the Hippodrome, would command from every part of it a good view of all that passed in the latter[b].

We read in Suetonius, that Nero, desirous of obliterating the memory of all his rivals in ago-

[a] Χῶμα γῆς.

[b] Since these remarks have been written, Mr. J. Spencer Stanhope has published his work on the Topography of Olympia, accompanied by a plan of the site. I there find indicated two parallel banks of the precise length of a Stadium, with some appearances of a circular end abutting on the hills adjacent to Cronium on the east. It is very possible that these banks, which I did not observe when at Olympia, are remains of the artificial embankments of the Olympic Stadium, and it is curious that they lie exactly in the direction I had conceived from the description of Pausanias; and very nearly in the same position also, being only a little farther to the eastward than I had supposed. Having obtained permission from Mr. Stanhope to make use of his plan, which was executed by Mr. Allason, an architect, and was the result of a fortnight's residence at Olympia, I willingly reject the eye sketch I had prepared to accompany these remarks, though I find that in the main it differs little from Mr. Allason's. I have added to Mr. A.'s plan references to the positions of some of the ancient monuments, according to my conception of the description of Pausanias.

nistic glory, ordered the statues of the athletæ at Olympia to be thrown into the common sewers. We are certain, however, from Pausanias, that no such orders were ever executed, at least to any extent; for it cannot be doubted from the accurate description of the Greek traveller, that almost as late as the third century, Olympia still preserved the most numerous and choicest collection of works of art that Greece could ever boast of; to deposit his works at this place being one of the highest honours that a great sculptor could obtain. It was with reason, therefore, that an excavation at Olympia was a favourite speculation of the celebrated Winckelmann. With the exception of the colossus by Phidias in ivory and gold in the temple of Jupiter, of twenty-two other chryselephantine figures by more ancient masters in the temple of Juno, and of those of the same kind in the Philippeium, works which cannot have escaped human spoliation, or the ravages of time; all the other productions of art at Olympia were of the durable materials of brass and marble. The Aeti alone of the temple of Jupiter contained forty or fifty colossal figures. Besides the works in the temples of Jupiter and Juno, Pausanias notices fifty-seven statues of the former deity, of which six were colossal; and he describes more than one hun-

dred other sacred ἀναθήματα, some of which were composed of several figures representing the actions of deities or heroes. There were no less than 260 statues of athletæ, several of which were accompanied by horses and chariots, in memory of victories in the Hippodrome. The far greater part of these works were in brass. In every instance in which Pausanias could obtain the information, he mentions the name of the celebrated artist who made the statue, as well as the occasion of its dedication, and he expressly informs us that he has not enumerated all the objects of inferior note. He describes eighty-four altars, a portion of which were in the Stadium, Hippaphesis, and Hippodrome; and we may infer, from what has already been discovered, that there must have been an infinity of smaller dedications of armour and of other votive offerings, as well as records of treaties and other inscribed documents on brass or marble: so that there is every reason to believe, that the most interesting discoveries in illustration of the arts, language, customs, and history of Greece, may yet be made by excavations at Olympia.

Feb. 26.—Pyrgo and nine other Greek villages were separated from the Kázasi[a] of Gas-

[a] A kazá, or court of justice, is a subordinate territorial division of a líva or government. In the Turkish

túni, on occasion of the death of one Ahmét Pashá, who had built a tower [πύργος] at the principal village of the ten, and had made it his residence, governing the district so well, that Pyrgo became the most commercial place in the west of the Moréa. As soon as the Greeks of Pyrgo were deprived of his protection, the Turks of Gastúni began grievously to oppress them: they complained to the Porte, when the Sultán, as heir of the deceased Pashá, (according to the maxim that all the property of his servants belongs to him,) made over the revenues of the ten villages of Pyrgo, with the customs of the Skáles of Katákolo and Rufiá, (mouth of the *Alpheius*,) and the fisheries of the lagoons of Agulenítza and St. John, to the Kaaba (pronounced by the Turks Kéabé) of Mekka, as Vakúf, or church property, appointing, as usual, a Vóivoda[a] for the separate government of the district, and the collection of the revenue. The family of Khotmán Oglú, however, still enjoys an interest derived from the original grant, and the Vóivoda is obliged to allow its representative a certain sum for the

system Móra [the Moréa] is properly a líva subordinate to the Eyalet of the Djezaír, i. e. the province or government general of the islands which are under the Kapitán Pashá; but, from its importance, the Moréa has generally been governed separately by a Vezír, or Pashá of Three Tails.

[a] Βοϊβόντας.

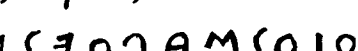
farm. In consequence of the increasing commerce of the two ports of Pyrgo, from whence all the grain, cheese, butter, wool, and honey of the surrounding country is exported, successive Vóivodas have increased the revenues to fifty purses a year. The military power acquired however by the Albanians of Lalla, has obliged the Porte to acquiesce in the appointment of one of their chieftains to the Voivodilík, and Mustafá Agá is now governor of Pyrgo.

Mustafá gives the Khotmán seven purses for the two fisheries, and sells them to Greek farmers for twelve, to whom they are worth twenty-four or thirty. In like manner he hires of the Khotmán the customs of the ports of Pyrgo, together with those of Pyrghí and Kóraka, for seven purses, and sells them for twelve to Greeks, who collect twenty-five purses. The Khotmán sells the customs of the other two ports of the district of Gastúni, namely, Glarántza and Kunupéli, with the fishery of Kotýkhi, to Greeks of Lekhená and Gastúni for thirty-six purses.

Besides the old customs, of which the Malekiané belongs to the family of Khotmán, there is a bedaat, or new tax on the export of cheese, corn, and kalambókki; this is purchased directly from the Porte by the Agá, for about twelve purses, and is sold to the Greeks for about

twenty. Corn embarked for the use of government pays only half bedaat. The commerce in all these articles is in the hands of the Greeks, who ship from hence about 4000 módhia of wheat, 5000 or 6000 módhia of kalambókki, and 3000 cwt. of cheese, importing in return European manufactures and colonial produce. The alikés [a], or salt manufactory, at the mouth of the Rufiá, is the property of the crown, and is let for six purses.

I purchased at Pyrgo a small votive helmet, three inches long and two inches and a half high, terminating at the top in a flat circular appendage, pierced in the middle for the reception of a single upright bunch of feathers, or other similar ornament. At the back of this apex there is the figure of a fish; on either cheek of the helmet a boar and a serpent. There are two holes for the eyes, and a mouth and chin are represented in the usual opening left for that part of the face. On the edge of the cranium, in front, are the following letters:



The person who sold me this interesting little relick said, that it was found at the Paleó-

[a] Ἁλικαὶς.

[b] The letters are much worn. The second from the left, though it has now the appearance I have represented, one can hardly doubt to have been intended for an epsilon, as the entire inscrip-

kastro of Khaiáffa; but I have some doubts of the truth of this assertion, and think that it may very possibly have come from Olympia, the fertile mine of such remains: it happened that the owner of it was present when I was making inquiries concerning the ruins at Khaiáffa, and he thought perhaps I should attach a greater value to it, if he asserted that it came from thence.

tion would then be (to express it in Hellenic letters) ΚΟΙΟΣ Μ' ΑΠΟΕΣΕΝ—Κοῖος μὲ ἐποίησεν—"Cœus made me." The conversion of the two epsilons into an alpha, in the last word, is singular. ΚΟΙΟΣ might indeed be read ΚΩΙΟΣ [Κῷος]; but this being the gentile of the island of Cos, and it being rather uncommon to meet with gentiles as the proper names of men, Κοῖος is much to be preferred; Cœus moreover having been a name of some celebrity, as that of the father of Latona, from whom a river in Messenia received its appellation. As to the doubtful letter, i. e. the first on the left, or the last of the inscription, it seems very clear that the engraver had begun to write the inscription from left to right, and had already formed the Ϙ upon which the ⌐ or N was afterwards engraved. The obscurity of the second letter may have been owing to the same cause.

CHAPTER II.

TRIPHYLIA.

From Pyrgo to Arkadhía.—Ancient geography of the maritime part of TRIPHYLIA.—District of Arkadhía.

Feb. 27.—LEAVE Pyrgo for Arkadhía. There being no post [a] at Pyrgo, I am obliged to travel with the Agóï [b], each hired horse or two being accompanied by the owner on foot. Our pace is consequently that of a pedestrian, but which, unless where the roads are level and very good, is nearly the same as that of horses loaded with baggage. We cross the *Alpheĭus* at a spot a little above the magazines of the Skala of the Ruféa [c], about half a mile from the sea. The ferry boat carries three horses and as many men, besides the boatmen. The river is rapid, and forty or fifty yards wide, but no part of the Pérama is so much as five feet in depth, as I perceive by the poles with which the boatmen pushed over. After the passage the road regains the foot of the hills, a little short of Agulenítza, a village standing on the side of a

[a] *Turcicè*, Menzíl.

[b] Ἀγώγιον, *Italicè*, à vettura. From this word is derived Ἀγωγιάτης, *Turcicè*, Keradjí, carrier, *unde* Ἀγωγιάτικα ἄλογα, carriers' horses let for hire.

[c] Τοῦ Ῥουφέως.

pointed summit, where the hills begin to be separated only by a narrow plain from a large lagoon, which extends from hence along the shore nearly as far as Khaiáffa. The house of the Agá of Agulenítza is built, like that of Mustafá at Pyrgo, in the form of a tower, with an entrance over a draw-bridge, and a high flight of steps leading up to it. This kind of house is known to the Greeks by the word pyrgo, tower, in Turkish kulé. The towers of the Moréa are, in general, better constructed than those of Albania. I observed near the village as we passed, a peasant girl in the fields, who was a perfect model of Greek beauty, both in face and figure. These instances are rare, and of course more rare in the female than the male sex in a country where poverty and oppression accustom the great bulk of the people to hard living from their cradles, which the males can better bear. Even when female beauty does occur, it soon declines for the same reasons.

Agulenítza is surrounded with vineyards, and the hills beyond it, as far as the point of Khaiáffa, are beautifully diversified with broken ground and woods of pine. Two miles beyond the village a road turns to the left through the hills to Fanári, six hours distant. Farther on I see several horses loaded with deal planks descending the hills; the planks are deposited on the

side of the lagoon, and carried away by sea. A narrow sandy ridge covered with a wood of pines divides the lake from the sea; as we advance, this ridge is wider and the woods thicken, occupying large islands in the middle of the lake, which becomes narrower, and more like a marsh. In some parts the space between the lake and the hills is not above 200 yards in width, and in no part so much as half a mile; so that the ruggedness and woody nature of the hills on one side, and the marsh on the other, would make the whole passage from Agulenítza to Khaiáffa difficult in face of an opponent.

A mile and a half short of Khaiáffa we cross a river, descending from the summit of the mountain of Smerna, and flowing by Vriná. The road to Fanári passes through a part of this valley, and along the north eastern face of the mountain of Smerna. We were one hour and a half in reaching Agulenítza from Pyrgo, including some loss of time at the ferry, and three hours and a half more to Khaiáffa.—Χαϊάππα, as it is properly written, or Khaiáffa, as it is more commonly pronounced, is nothing but a Dervény, or guarded pass, at the foot of a steep rocky point, projecting to the sea from the mountain of Smerna, and separated from the sea-beach only by a continuation of the

sand-bank and wood above-mentioned, which is here a quarter of a mile in breadth. By this woody sand-bank the southern extremity of the Agulenítza Lake, or Ruféa fishery [a], as it is commonly called, is separated from the northern extremity of another lake of the same kind, which washes the foot of the Smerna mountain nearly as far as Sákari. Between the extremities of the two lakes there is a narrow causeway, and a bridge in the middle of it over an occasional inundation, that unites the two lakes. Before entering upon the causeway the road passes between two hillocks of rock, on one of which is the Dervéni [b], or guard-house of the pass. Near this point I turn a little out of the road, to the left, to visit the Paleó-kastro of Khaiáffa.

It is situated on the north-west side of the projection just mentioned of the Smerna mountain; the ruined walls of a Hellenic city surround the upper part of the hill, the slope of which is clothed with chestnuts, walnuts, and other large trees, mixed with the usual maritime shrubs of Greece. The ancient wall is six feet thick, and about one mile and a half in circumference; it follows the contour of the hill on three sides, with projecting and re-entering an-

[a] Αιβάρι (a corruption of the Latin word *vivarium*) τοῦ Ρουφέως.

[b] Ντερβένι.

gles without towers, in a manner that indicates a remote period of art; on the side towards the sea, it is defended by some square towers, which are probably the addition of a later age. The walls, in general, afford a beautiful specimen of the second order of Hellenic masonry[a]; I see no stone of more than six sides. The hill slopes towards the north-west, and is divided at the back by a shallow ravine from the rest of the mountain.

The road, after passing the Dervéni and bridge, sends off a branch to the left to Sákari and Biskíni, leaving the lake on the left at the foot of the mountain. A little beyond the causeway, I observe two large caves in the rocks

[a] The first or most ancient manner, as exemplified in the walls of Tiryns, consists in the accumulation of large masses of stone rudely hewn, the intervals of which are filled with smaller stones of the same kind. In the second order, no less than in the first, the stones were of various shapes, but the sides were all right lines, and so accurately fitted to one another by previous labour, that no interval remained between the large masses to be filled up with small stones, so that the whole wall may be said to form a single course of masonry. There were various degrees between this species of masonry, and that in which the courses were all horizontal and equal in height, and the stones all rectangular. The last mode was more particularly used in sacred and domestic architecture, and is seldom found in works of defence unmixed with the other orders.

to the left: they are accessible only by a boat, being immediately above the surface of the lake, which is here of a different kind from the shallow lagoons we have passed. These are in great part formed by the sea beating over the sand-ridge in winter, whereas the lake is apparently very deep, and derived chiefly from subterraneous sources at the foot of the precipitous hill. After passing for a mile along the sandy ridge between the lake and the shore, we cross a stream flowing out of the lake into the sea. When the winds are violent, the surf and the sand thrown up by it reject the waters of the river, and assist very much in increasing the lake. This fact, which is remarked both by Strabo and Pausanias, added to other particulars in conformity with those authors, leaves no doubt of the river being the *Anigrus*. It enters the lake a mile or two to the eastward of the Dervéni, and is called Mavro-potamó [Black River], its exact origin I cannot learn. In summer the marsh is said to be very fetid, and the air extremely unwholesome, as one may easily conceive, the place being closely overhung by the precipices which here terminate the mountain.

The road now winds among pine woods, sand-hills, and marshes for five miles, till it ar-

rives at the Khan of Ai Sídhoro, or St. Isidore[a], near the mouth of a small river flowing from an opening between the mountains of Smerna and 'Alvena; where, on the summit of one of the last falls of the former, is seen a tjiftlik of Seid Agá of Lalla, near a small village of thatched huts, called Sákari. Below it the plain is of considerable dimensions, filling up a large angle left by the retreating of the mountain of Smerna. Southward of the Khan of St. Isidore the plain narrows again very rapidly, some lower hills at the foot of the mountain of 'Alvena leaving only a narrow maritime level between them and a chain of sand-hills on the shore. We halt for the night at the Khan an hour before sunset. The Bishop of Arkadhía having taken possession of the Khan, we lodge in a long stable below, being in number sixteen;—myself, two servants, six agoyátes, and seven horses. These agoyátes, instead of walking quietly by the side of their horses, were singing and dancing all the way; nor are they the less lively and noisy all the evening.

Feb. 28.—At 7 we set out from the Khan of Ai Sídhoro. After crossing the river, the road continues for some distance along the sand-hills, and then, descending into the plain,

[a] Ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος, vulgarly, Αἰσίδωρο.

soon arrives at the foot of the heights which border it to the left. Above them rises the very remarkable round summit, called Mount Vunúka, or the Mountain of 'Alvena, from a village which I see in a very lofty situation under the summit. At 7.50, before arriving at the hills, we cross a stream—at 9 cross a larger, called the Tholó[a], or Turbid, which issues from a narrow valley, and after traversing the maritime plain, which is here less than half a mile in breadth, falls into the sea at a place where boats anchor in fine weather. This anchorage is the Skala of Strovítzi, a small town, situated in the valley of the Tholó, one hour and a half above the entrance of the glen, at which entrance stands a magazine belonging to the Skáloma. At Strovítzi are the ruined walls of a Hellenic town of some magnitude, probably *Lepreum*. The hills are finely clothed with pines; at their foot are some pleasant copses and woods of the usual wild shrubs, such as mastic, myrtle, bay, paliúri, &c.

This narrow maritime plain exactly answers to Strabo's description of that of Pylus Triphyliacus, or Lepreaticus, which, he says, extended along the shore from *Samicum* to the *Neda*[b]. At 9.35 are some remnants of ancient

[a] Θολὸς. [b] Strabo, p. 344.

architecture on the road,—large squared stones and a piece of architravè of white marble: a sand-hill continues to skirt the sea-beach. At 9.45 we arrive in the valley of a river, which, as well as a neighbouring village, is called Buzi. It is undoubtedly the *Neda*; it rises in Mount Tetrázi, a snow-topped mountain which appears on the left: half way thither, on the right bank of the river, are said to be some extensive ruins at the village of Pávlitza, probably those of *Phigaleia*. Such being the position of the *Neda* and *Phigaleia*, I can hardly doubt that the remains which I passed at 9.35 mark the site of *Pyrgi*. At 9.55 we cross the Buzi over a high narrow bridge, in a ruinous condition, called the bridge of Andriópulo, from the person at whose expense it was built. The river is wide and rapid: we halt on the bank till 10.40. At 11 begins a wood, consisting chiefly of wild olives, holly-oak, ilex, and underwood; it occupies all the space between the hills and the sea, which is about a quarter of a mile in width.

In the midst of the wood, at 11.25, we arrive at a ruined chapel of St. John, where are two fine springs of water; and at one of them the remains of an ancient circular basin. A little farther a narrow but copious stream issues from the foot of the hill. A few minutes after 12 we

pass along a deep sand, under a projection of the mountain, which is bordered northward by the valley of the *Neda*. Here was formerly a Dervéni, called Klidhí [key], a word not uncommonly applied to a pass;—that of Khaiáffa is often known by the same name. We now enter the plain of Arkadhía; the soil is gravelly, and covered with wild shrubs. At 12.45 cross a large stream, called the river of Arkadhía, and a mile short of the town, in the middle of the olive plantations, another more clear and rapid, but much smaller. At 2 we arrive in the town.

Strabo has been so unusually copious in his remarks on the places in the line of my route from Pyrgo to Arkadhía, that I shall here insert the most important part of what he has written on the subject, omitting little more than the passages where his text is so obviously corrupt, or where the author's meaning is rendered so doubtful by the various readings, as to afford no intelligible information.

"Near the mouth of the Alpheius, (says the geographer[a],) is the sacred Grove of Diana Alpheionia, or Alpheiusa, distant from Olympia eighty stades; proceeding southward from thence, there occurs a mountain which separates Macistia from Pisatis, then a river Chalcis, the

[a] Strabo, p. 343, et seq.

fountain Cruni, and the town of Chalcis, next to which is Samicum, and a most venerated temple of Neptune Samius, situated in a wood of wild olives; though all the Triphylii contribute to its support, it is administered by the Macistii. Beyond the temple at a distance of thirty stades, or a little more from the sea, is Pylus Triphyliacus, or Lepreaticus. Near Pylus, to the eastward, rises the mountain called Minthe, where is a sacred inclosure [a] of Hades, and a grove of Ceres, situated above [b] the Pyliac plain. This plain is fertile, and in the maritime part extends from Samicum as far as the Neda. The coast is narrow, and bordered by sand-hills, from which circumstance it may perhaps be thought that Pylus was called Ἠμαθόεις. Towards the north, bordering on Pylus, there were two small towns of Triphylia called Hypana and Typaneæ; one of which has been incorporated into the community of Elis [c]; the other still exists [d]. In the neighbourhood flow two rivers, the Dalion and Acheron; the latter so called because it has some reference to Hades, for in these places they have a great veneration for Ceres, Proserpine, and Hades. To the south of Pylus stands Lepreum, situated at forty stades from the sea. Between Lepreum and the Anigrus is the temple of Neptune Samius, distant 100

[a] Τέμενος. [b] Ὑπερκείμενον. [c] Εἰς Ἦλιν συνῳκίσθη. [d] Διέμεινε.

stades from each. Here it is that the poet represents Telemachus to have found the Pylii employed in offering sacrifices to the god. The Lepreatæ possessed a fertile district, bordering upon that of the Cyparissii; both of them, together with Macistus, were anciently occupied by the Caucones. Macistus is also called Platanistus; both the district and town being known by this name. It is said that in the Lepreatis there is a monument of Caucon, who was either some national leader[a], or otherwise bore the name of that people. Another tribe, called the Paroreatæ, occupied, near Macistus and Lepreum, the mountains of Triphylia, which terminate on the sea near the temple of Neptune Samius. Below these Paroreatæ there are two caverns, one sacred to the nymphs Anigriades, the other noted for the story of the Atlantides and the birth of Dardanus. Here also are the groves called Endymionæum and Eurycydium. Samicum, which is now a fortress, was formerly a city called Samus, perhaps because it is situated on a hill, for σάμοι formerly signified 'heights.' It was probably the acropolis of Arene, of which Homer speaks in the Catalogue, Οἵ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινήν: for the poet says, that the river Minyeius, now called Anigrus, fell into the sea

[a] Ἀρχηγέτης.

near Arene, whence it is supposed that Arene stood at the mouth of the Anigrus. The Minyeius received its name from the Minyæ, who, driven out from Lemnus, went to Laconia, and passing from thence into Triphylia, established themselves near Arene, in the canton now named Hypæsia. Near the cavern of the Anigriades there is a source of water[a] which renders all the district below it marshy and full of mud. The greater part of its waters is received by the Anigrus, which being deep and sluggish, and checked in its course by the action of the sea, forms a lake, whose water emits a very bad smell, and renders the fish unfit to be eaten. The shore is bordered by a sandy ridge. It is said that the Centaurs washed their wounds in the waters of the Anigrus, which possess the virtue of curing cutaneous disorders. Between the Anigrus and the mountain from whence flows the Jardanes[b], there is a meadow and a remarkable sepulchre, and some precipitous rocks of the same mountain, called the Achæan rocks, upon which the aforesaid city Samus was built. This place seems not to have been no-

[a] Πηγὴ.

[b] Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνίγρου καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐξ οὗ ῥεῖ ὁ Ἰαρδάνης λειμὼν, &c. The correctness of the text here is liable to suspicion, for the Jardanes is afterwards placed to the southward of Pylus Triphyliacus, whereas the Anigrus and Samicum were to the northward of that site.

ticed by the writers of the Peripli, either from its being destroyed, or from its not being in a conspicuous situation. The Poseidium is a grove, as I have said, on the sea side. Above it rises a lofty hill, which advances in front of Samicum, where Samus formerly stood, so that the latter position is not seen from the sea. From Pylus and Lepreum there is a distance of about 400 stades to Pylus of Messenia and Coryphasium, which are fortresses on the sea side adjacent to the island Sphagia, distant 750 stades from the Alpheius, and from Chelonatas 1030. In the interval[a] is the temple of Hercules Macistius, and the river Acidon which flows by the tomb of Jardanus and Chaa, a town formerly existing near Lepreum, where also is the plain Æpasium. Cyparissia is on the Triphyliac sea, as well as Pyrgi and the rivers Acidon and Neda. But at present Triphylia is separated from Messenia by the course of the Neda. This rapid river rises in Lycæum, a mountain of Arcadia, from a fountain, which is said to have been caused to flow by Rhea when she brought forth Jupiter. The river passes by Phigalia, and

[a] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τό τε τοῦ Μαχιστίου Ἡρακλέους ἱερόν ἐστι, &c. Here seems to be some omission in the text; for Strabo would hardly have thought of describing places situated so near to Pylus Triphyliacus, as being between it and a place so distant as Chelonatas.

falls into the sea where the Pyrgitæ, who are the last people of Triphylia, confine upon the Cyparissii, the first of Messenia."

This is all the geographical matter respecting the coast of Triphylia that I have been able to extract from Strabo.

Pausanias [a] speaks of the same places in the following terms: "Quitting Eleia," he says, "you come to a place near the sea called Samicum. Above it to the right is Triphylia, and in Triphylia the city Lepreus. The Lepreatæ wish to be considered a part of the Arcadians; but they appear from the beginning to have been subject to the Eleians; for those who conquered in the Olympic games were proclaimed by the herald as Eleians from Lepreus, and Aristophanes, the poet, calls Lepreus a city of the Eleians [b]. There is a road to Lepreus from Samicum, leaving the Anigrus on the left, another from Olympia, and a third from Elis: the longest of them [c] is a day's journey. Not far from the city of the Lepreatæ there is a fountain called Arene; it is said that the name was given to it from the wife of Aphareus. Returning to Samicum, on the

[a] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 5, 6.

[b] Aristoph. Av. v. 149.

[c] Meaning the road from Elis to Lepreum.

direct road, occurs the place where the river Anigrus falls into the sea. The stream of this river is often repelled by the violence of the winds, which, bringing the sand of the sea into it, impedes the flowing of the water; when therefore the sand becomes wetted both by the sea and the river, it is dangerous for yoked cattle to enter it, and still more for a man on foot. The Anigrus descends from the Arcadian mountain Lapithus, and from its very fountains sends forth water of an extremely disagreeable smell. Before it receives the Acidas it does not contain fish, and those fish which descend into the Anigrus with the water of the Acidas are not eatable by men, though eatable before they entered it. In Samicum, not far from the river, there is a cavern called the cavern of the Nymphs Anigrides. If a person who is afflicted with a cutaneous disorder [a], having first prayed to the nymphs, and promised a certain sacrifice, rubs the diseased parts of the body with the water, when he has passed through the river he will leave the malady in the water, and come out himself healthy and with a clear skin. In the direct road to Olympia, soon after having passed the Anigrus, there is above Samicum a hill [b], which is the site of the city Samia. They

[a] Ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην. [b] Χωρίον ὑψηλόν.

say that Polysperchon the Ætolian made use of this place as a fortress against the Arcadians. As to the ruins of Arene no one, either of the Messenians or Eleians, could with certainty point them out to me; and there are different opinions upon this subject; but those persons appear to me to speak with the greatest probability, who say that Samicum itself was called Arene in the heroic times, for they quote the words of the Iliad:

"Εστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήιος εἰς ἅλα βάλλων
Ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης.

Now these ruins (of Samia, or Samicum) are very near the Anigrus, and although it is doubted by the Arcadians that Samicum was called Arene, they confess that Minyeius was the ancient name of the river Anigrus."

It seems unnecessary to add many observations on these two extracts. A reference to the Itinerary will be sufficient, I think, to leave little doubt as to the principal points. The hill which separated Macistia from Pisatis was probably not far to the southward of the modern Agulenítza, which, as I shall have occasion to show hereafter, stands upon the site of Epitalium, or the Homeric Thryoessa.

For the existence of a *Chalcis* between this position and Khaiáffa we have, I believe, no

other authority than the line of Homer, upon which Strabo here comments, and which is of doubtful authenticity. There is a river, however, as I have remarked in the Itinerary, which descends from the mountain of Smerna into the lagoon a mile or two northward of Khaiáffa. It is possible that the ancient name of this stream may have been Chalcis. In the neighbourhood of Khaiáffa we find the ruins of Samia or Samicum, the caverns, the marsh, the Anigrus, the Achæan rocks, as well as some other particulars in conformity with the ancient authors, as I have remarked in the Itinerary. The fetid smell of the marsh and its unwholesome fish, which Pausanias, a lover of fable, ascribes to a peculiar quality of the river Anigrus, is rationally accounted for by the more philosophic Strabo, as the effect of the repulsion of the sand by the surf, and the consequent stagnation of the waters. It is observable that Pausanias states, that the Anigrus rises in Lapithus, an Arcadian mountain; I am not informed of the exact course of the river, but its origin is certainly in the mountain of Smerna, which terminates westward at Khaiáffa, for the next stream to the southward, or that which joins the sea at St. Isidore, flows from a valley which separates the mountain of Smerna from Mount Vunúka, receiving contributions

from the adjacent slopes of both mountains. The sources of the Anigrus, therefore, as well as those of the Acidas, which, according to Pausanias, was a branch of the Anigrus, must be in the mountain of Smerna, which thus becomes identified with the ancient Lapithus. This was the mountain inhabited by the Paroreatæ, who, as well as the Caucones-Pylii, were driven out of their country by the Minyæ, when the latter founded the six towns of Macistus, Phrixa, Lepreum, Pyrgi, Epium, and Nudium[a]; and who consequently appear to have occupied the whole country, which was afterwards called Triphylia, from its being inhabited by the three tribes of Epeii, Eleii, and Minyæ[b]. As to its being called by Pausanias an Arcadian mountain, one is not much surprised at this, as Arcadia was sometimes supposed to border on this part of the coast for the length of 100 stades[c], whence the Pylus, here situated, was known by the epithet of Arcadic[d] as well as Triphyliac; though it is certain that in the time of the Roman empire the mountain of Smerna, and all the country as far as the *Alpheius*, constituted a part of Triphylia, and consequently belonged to the Eleia.

[a] Herodot. l. iv. c. 148.
[b] Strabo, p. 337.
[c] Scylax in Arcadia.
[d] Strabo, p. 337.

If Pausanias has determined the ancient name of the mountain of Smerna to have been Lapithus, it is no less certain from Strabo that Mount Vunúka was the ancient Minthe. What the geographer says of the Acidon, or Jardanes, seems to agree very well with the testimony of Pausanias as to the same river, which he calls Acidas, and which, as I have already hinted, appears to have been a stream flowing from the mountain of Smerna into the lake of Khaiáffa, in which it joined the *Anigrus*. The river of St. Isidore I conceive to be that which Strabo calls Mamaus, or Pamisus, or Arcadicus: as to his two temples of Neptune, one of them appears to have stood under Samicum, at or near the present Dervéni of Khaiáffa, the other on the shore about midway between it and *Lepreum*. The latter was that at which Strabo supposes Telemachus to have landed; the former he sufficiently distinguishes by the words "the most venerated"[a]. His distance of 200 stades, however, between the Anigrus and Lepreum is too much by a third.

On arriving at Arkadhía I proceed to the house of the consular agent, M. Pasqualego, who soon afterwards accompanies me to the castle. This fortress, the Acropolis of the an-

[a] τὸ μάλιστα τιμώμενον.

cient Cyparissiæ, is situated at about a mile in direct distance from the sea, on the narrow summit of a rock, connected with and immediately overlooked by a high mountain called Aia Paraskeví [a], or St. Friday. The castle looks down upon the houses of the town, which cover the flanks of the ridge on both sides; beyond them it commands a view in either direction of the beautiful slope which descends from the mountain of Paraskeví to the sea. Near the town are plantations of olives mixed with corn fields, but beyond these the plain on both sides is covered with wild shrubs, and scarcely a village is seen.

There are said to be 600 houses in the town, one-third of which are Greek. None of the latter have so good an appearance as some of those at Gastúni and Pyrgo, though the collection of the taxes and most of the other offices are here in the hands of the Greeks. The Turk who farms the revenue of the Porte is Seid Ahmét Agá, who is likewise Kadí: he pays forty purses for the town and district, which contains between eighty and ninety villages. The number of χαρτιὰ [b], or Kharátjes,

[a] Ἅγια Παρασκευή.

[b] The acquittance for the Kharatj, or annual capitation tax, is called by the Greeks τὸ χαρτὶ, *the paper*, from its importance, as no Rayah can venture beyond his district unprovided with this document, without being liable to pay the tax a second time; nor will this caution always save him.

is 4216:—500 of thirteen piastres, 1500 of seven, the rest of three. The nominal sums are eleven, five, and two and a half, but the real sums taken are as above.

On the shore below the town, two or three magazines, behind a projection of rock, indicate the Skala of Arkadhía, but it seldom happens that ships venture to remain long in the roadsted, and during the winter hardly a boat appears. The island of Próti[a], by the Italians called Pródano, is, in fact, the port of Arkadhía, and all the export produce is conveyed there. This consists, in common years, of 15,000 barrels of oil, 50,000 kilos of wheat, together with hogs, barley, vallonea, honey, cotton, cheese, butter, hides. The oil is carried to the Adriatic, the rest chiefly to the Seven Islands. It is thought that at two months' notice Malta might procure from hence 500 oxen and 2000 sheep. The roadsted of Arkadhía, though bad, seems to be the best on this coast northward of Navaríno, with the wind to the south or south-east, for I observe to-day (the wind being in that quarter) that the beach

[a] I touched at Próti in 1802, sailing from Tzerígo to Zákytho, and found a sheltered cove bordered by steep rocks, the convenience and frequent use of which is attested by numerous Greek scribblings of all ages on the rocks.

here is smooth, while breakers whiten all the shore of *Triphylia* and *Elis*.

A little south of the Skala, close to the sea-side, a fine stream rushes out of the rock, and runs into the sea; close by there is a bason with a spring of water[a], bubbling up at the bottom; around it are some stones, which once belonged to some ancient structure, and are now used by the washerwomen to beat their linen upon. A little southward of this spot, on the top of the bank overlooking the sea beach, there is a building in a wood of olives, erected for the fair[b], which is held here on the 8th September, O. S.; together with some sheds for selling cattle. Immediately below the castle, half way from thence to the sea side, in a garden[c] surrounded with a hedge of bay[d], and containing some fig-trees and pot-herbs, I find, in a church of St. George, a fragment of a fluted column, and two or three others in the garden, one of which is in its original situation, and seems to indicate this place as the site of a temple. I found also a large hollowed block of stone in the neighbouring hedge. At the entrance of the castle, as well as in different parts of its walls, are seen some pieces of Hellenic wall of the third order of masonry, or that which is neither altogether polygonal nor quite

[a] βρύσις. [b] πανηγύρι. [c] περιβόλι. [d] δάφνη.

regular. Such are the poor remains of Cyparissiæ.

Pausanias is very brief in his description of this place. "On approaching Cyparissiæ" he says, "from Pylus," [old Navaríno,] "there is a source of water[a] below the city near the sea; it is said to have been produced by Bacchus, who here struck the earth with his thyrsus; hence the fountain is called Dionysias. In Cyparissiæ there is a temple of Apollo and another of Minerva Cyparissia. In the place called Aulon there is a temple of Æsculapius Aulonius. Near Aulon the river Neda separates Messenia from Eleia." It is evident from these words, that the fountain situated to the southward of the Skala of Arkadhía is the ancient Dionysias. St. George seems to have fixed his abode in the temple of Apollo. Minerva, as usual with this deity, probably inhabited the Acropolis or modern castle of Arkadhía. Aulon having been near the mouth of the Neda, and situated, if we may judge from its name, in a pass, probably occupied the Klidhí, where the church of St. John, which I passed yesterday at 11.25, in a position recommended by some fine sources of water, may, perhaps, stand on the site of the temple of Æsculapius.

The Kázasi or Vilayéti of Arkadhía[b] is di-

[a] πηγὴ. [b] Ἀρκαδία, more vulgarly accented Ἀρκαδιά.

vided into four Κόλια. 1. The Koli of Zurtza[a], which extends from Aisídhoro to the plain of Arkadhía. 2. Kambos[b], or the plain of Arkadhía. 3. Kondovúni[c], which contains the mountains south-eastward of the town towards the Vilayéti of Andrússa. 4. Sulimá[d], which comprehends the mountains to the north-eastward towards Karítena, and reaches to near the Columns[e], as the ruins of the *Phigaleian* temple are called.

1. The chief places in Zurtza are, Zurtza, Strovítzi, Glatza, Sárona, 'Alvena, Buzi, Pávlitza, Bartzéli. All these lie among the fertile hills at the foot of the mountain of 'Alvena, which are bounded to the south by the *Neda*, and are separated from the sea by the narrow maritime plain between that river and Ai Sídhoro. The country produces corn and oil.

2. Kambo contains not only the plain watered by the river of Arkadhía northward of the town, but all the country to the southward of Arkadhía which lies at the foot of the mountain of Aiá, and extends to the shore, above which it is considerably elevated. The plain northward of the town is very fertile, and produces corn, wine, and oil, but all the villages are small: to the southward of Arkadhía, the principal places

[a] Ζούρτζα. [b] Κάμπος. [c] Κοντοβούνι. [d] Σουλημά. [e] σταὶς κολόνναις, or στοὺς στύλους.

are, Filiatrá, three hours from Arkadhía, containing 250 houses, and Gargaliáno, of 150 houses, three hours farther; they are both similarly situated on an elevated plain, at a short distance from the coast, and cultivate wine, oil, and silk. At Filiatrá the chief production is oil, of which the annual produce is 6000 barrels: Gargaliáno annually produces 7000 barrels of wine. Ligúdhista is a village of 40 houses, and of similar produce. The boundary of this Koli southward is the river Vrysómilo, an hour beyond Gargaliáno, where the Vilayéti of Navaríno begins, at three hours distance from Neókastro.

3. Kondovúni contains the mountains between Kambo and the Vilayéti of Andrússa; it has twenty-five villages, of which the largest, Varibópi, has only fifty houses. In the midst of this district is the town of Aiá, which gives name to the mountain above Filiatrá and Gargaliáno. Aetós is another large village in the same mountain, towards Arkadhía. Both these places pay their dues separately, and are not considered as belonging to the Vilayéti of Arkadhía.

4. Sulimá contains the mountains from the plain of Arkadhía north-eastward, nearly as far as the Columns. Sulimá, the chief village, situated near the sources of the river which flows to Nisí,

contains eighty houses. The other principal villages are Lapi, Sidherókastro, Klisúra, Psári, Plataniá, Karamustafá, Kuvalá, Mavromáti. This Koli produces a little oil, but its chief produce is vallonea, butter, cheese, honey, sheep, and cattle.

The metropolitan Bishop of Arkadhía, or Christianopolis[a], as it is called in the ecclesiastical books, has no suffragans. His diocese includes the districts of Fanári, Karítena, Londári, and all the western coast between the rivers Ruféas and Longovárdho; the latter joins the sea between Filiatrá and Gargaliáno. This district suffered greatly in the insurrection of 1770, as is testified by the ruins of two or three churches at Arkadhía, upon which the Turks wreaked their vengeance after the affair was over.

[a] The proper see is said to be a village in the Koli of Kambo, still called Christiánu [Χριστιάνου].

CHAPTER III.

MESSENIA.—ARCADIA.

From Arkadhía to Londári, and Tripolitzá—Tegea.—Mantineia.—Pallantium.

March 4. At 7.40 I leave Arkadhía for Tripolitzá, passing under the northern side of the Castle, and entering some low hills at the foot of Mount Paraskeví, on the side of which, one mile and a half east of the town, stands the village Vrýses [a], so called, because a fine stream here gushes out of the hill, and after turning several mills, and watering gardens, joins the sea a little below the place where we crossed it on approaching the town. Soon after having passed the olive plantations, the foot of the *Cyparissian* mountain meets that which, branching from *Lycæum*, fills up the space between the *Neda* and the river of Arkadhía. The latter, before it enters the plain of Arkadhía, flows in a ravine between the two mountains. We cross over an uncultivated tract, overgrown for the most part with lentisk [b], oleander [c], and arbutus [d], of which last the fruit is now

[a] σταὶς βρύσαις, or the Fountains. [b] σχῖνος. [c] ἄγρια δάφνη. [d] κουμαριὰ.

almost ripe: it is gathered, and serves, they tell me, to make brandy. We cross the river at 10.15, and at 10.45 two of its branches coming from the northern range, on the side of which are seen the villages of Mármaro, towards the sea, and of Sidherókastro, under a lofty summit, where are some ruins of a castle, which by the description is not Hellenic.

The direction of this mountain is nearly east and west, that on the Messenian, or southern side of the valley, runs about north-west and south-east, the Paraskeví, or summit above the town of Arkadhiá, forming the north-western end of the range, where a turn to the west terminates in the castle of Arkadhía. After having passed the Paraskeví, the district called Kondovúni lies on our right, and consists of mountains which, as the name indicates, are of no great height, and which extend to the confines of Andrússa and Navaríno. The highest summit of the *Lycæan* range, called Tetrázi, is seen occasionally to the north-east. As we advance, the hollow is overgrown with oaks, which cover also a great part of the hills on the right. The forest begins at 10.40, and continues as far as the opening into the plain of *Messene*, where we arrive at 2.20. In this interval we halt for a few minutes in the midst of the forest at 11.30, where, on the left, are seen the villages of Vidhísova, Bótia, and

Klisúra[a], and on the right Agrieléa and Varibópi[b]. At 1, make another short halt at the guard house of the Kokhla Dervéni, as this pass is called, and pay some paras to the poor guards in Albanian dresses who are stationed here.

The summit, called Makryplái[c], covered with snow, now makes its appearance in front, a little to the left of our direction. At 2.10 the village of Mila is a mile distant, on the side of the right hand range; at half that distance are the ruins of an old castle on a rock, of the construction of the middle ages. The ridges of Kondovúni here terminate in Mount *Ithome*, an insulated lofty hill, to the south-eastward of which, when we have passed out into the plain, I perceive another hill of the same height, of a conical form and still more remarkable. It seems to be that called Evan by Pausanias. Between these two summits, on their eastern slope, stands the monastery of Vurkáno, which now gives name to Mount *Ithome*. A little beyond the southern hill is the town of Andrússa. After emerging from the pass we skirt the roots of Mount *Lycæum* in a north-east direction. To the south appear in the plain the villages of Alitúri and Melígala on the north-west side of

[a] Βιδίτσοβα, Μπότια, Κλεισούρα.

[b] Ἀγριελαΐα, Βαριμπόπι.

[c] Μακρυπλάγι, broad side.

the heights of Mila. We now cross the head of the plain in the direction of the Makryplái summit.

On the foot of the range of hills which terminate the *Messenian* plains, and connect Mount *Lycæum* with Makryplái, are several small hamlets, consisting chiefly of huts with thatched roofs. In the middle of the plain, by the side of our road, is a little grove of the finest plane-trees; not a single leaf is to be seen either on these or on the oaks. A river, now dry, passes near the grove, and winding towards the height of Mila there unites with some others. At 4.30 we arrive at an opening in the mountains, from whence one of these rivers issues, the ruined castle of Mila, bearing w.s.w. Leaving the ravine on the left, we ascend the Makryplái, and cross it about two miles to the left of the summit. At 5.30 we fall into the road from Tripolitzá to Andrússa, a little below a Khan near the summit of the pass, where I had intended to pass the night; but finding it filled by a Vóivoda and his suite, we pass on half a mile to the guard-house of the Dervéni of Makryplái, where I obtain a decent apartment belonging to an old Greek who farms the Dervéni from the Vóivoda of Londári: the revenue is derived from a small contribution paid by all passengers. Another room in the house is occupied by a Turk

from Anápli, who visits me to learn the news, having heard that the French fleet is out. The Turks of the Moréa, conscious of their weakness, are excessively alarmed lest the French should endeavour to excite an insurrection of the Greeks, and make a landing for that purpose in the Peninsula; and this fear acting on their cruel disposition renders them capable of committing any excesses against the Greeks, who are therefore as much alarmed at such reports as the Turks themselves.

From the highest point of the ascent of Makryplái I had a fine view of the great *Messenian* plains, bounded by *Lycæum*, *Ithome*, *Evan*, and the range which stretches from Andrússa to the low point of Koróni, the fortifications of which were visible with the glass.

March 5.—Between the Dervéni and the summit of Makryplái, but nearer the latter and not in sight from either, I am told there is an ancient ruin in the middle of the ἐρημία, or forest, between the villages of Velanidhiá and Keratriés. It is called the castle of Xuriá[a], a name often applied to such remains. All the offers that I can make to the Greek of the Dervéni will not induce him to show me the road to this Paleókastro. He asserts that it is the head-quarters of the robbers, who not long since

[a] Ξουριᾶς τὸ κάστρον.

murdered two travellers in the mountains above Londári. If there be any robbers here, my host is probably on good terms with them, as indeed with his small force it is prudent for him to be.

Leaving the Dervéni at a little after 7, on a bright frosty morning, we descend along a paved road through a forest of oaks, which covers this part of the mountain, till at 8.30 we arrive at the foot of the mountain: the oaks are some of the finest I have yet seen in Greece; those of the Kokhla Dervéni were crooked, and few of them of any great size; but the greater part of these are straight as well as large. Even these, however, are not to be compared to the hedge-row oaks of England, and not one of them has a perfectly handsome head. The forest is four or five miles in circumference, and belongs to the district of Londári. At 9, we arrive at the fountain of the Pashá as it is called, on the edge of the great plain of the *Alpheius*, but our road, instead of entering the plain, leaves it on the left, and after crossing a tributary of that river, traverses some low heights, the last roots of a mountain which separates the valleys of the two extreme branches of the *Alpheius*, and thus passes between Londári and Sinánu. At the latter place there are some remains of Megalopolis, by the natives called the ruins of Paleá Arkadhía, the provincial

name having become that of its ruined capital, by a sort of process analogous to that conversion of particulars into generals, and the reverse, of which there are so many instances in the transition of Hellenic into Romaic. The Paleá now serves to distinguish *Megalopolis* from Arkhadhía, which name may, perhaps, have been substituted for Cyparissiæ by some colony from Megalopolis, during the decline of the Roman empire.

We now approach the range which bounds the plain of the *Alpheius* on the east, as *Lycæum* does on the west. This eastern range extends from Dhimitzána, which is seen in a lofty situation to the north, twelve or fifteen miles from our road, as far as Mount Khelmós, which lies eight or ten miles to the right. To the north of Khélmos there is another high summit, rising immediately opposite to Londári and Mount Makryplái; it is called Tjimbarú[a]. At 10, we cross the river of Londári, and soon after another stream, which issues from the foot of the mountain near Rapsomáti[b], a little village to our right. About three miles farther on the right, is another village, Gardhíki. We now ascend the pass, and look down to the left upon a rocky gorge, through which flows a torrent, called Gdhani.

[a] Τζιμπαροῦ. [b] Ραψομάτι.

At 11.45, having arrived at the summit of the rocky ascent, I have a fine view of Karítena and its castle, situated at the northern or lower extremity of the same plain of *Megalopolis*, or of the upper *Alpheius*, which we have just been skirting at its southern extremity. Karítena is situated in a strong pass, defended by its castle, which stands on a very remarkable table-height. In the opposite direction are seen the peaked summits of Mount *Taygetum*, covered with snow. The mountain we pass is not very high or difficult. It was here that the two travellers are said to have been murdered by the robbers. We now descend into a marshy valley, opening into a plain, the middle of which, on the right, is occupied by a lake. The plain is three or four miles in diameter, surrounded with bare rocky hills without any cultivation, except round two or three small villages, one of which, to the south-west, is called Pápari. I observe some flocks of sheep and goats, and a great quantity of starlings. Having crossed the northern end of this plain in an E.N.E. direction, we arrive, at 1.30, at the remains of a Paleó-kastro, consisting of a piece of wall of the third order, following the slope of a rocky flat-topped hill, which rises to the height of about fifty feet above the plain. The wall of the Acropolis is traceable round the summit.

These are probably the remains of *Asea*. A quarter of an hour farther, a fine source of water issues from the foot of the same height: it is called Frangóvrysi[a], Frank-spring, and gives name to a Khan, which stands near the fountain, and is reckoned two hours and a half from Tripolitzá. Towards the opposite side of the valley, at no great distance, there is another copious source.

The road afterwards crosses a marshy tract, and then ascends a rocky height, which divides the vale of Frangóvrysi from that of Tripolitzá. It is called Krávari, and seems to be the ancient Boreium. The road is paved both over the marsh and the mountain, which it crosses in a north north east direction, bending from thence to Tripolitzá more northerly.

From the summit of the hill, the castle of Tripolitzá is visible, but not the town. The scenery is most dismal, and reminds me of the first view of the plain of Argyrókastro, which it resembles, in being an uniform, marshy level of great extent, inclosed within lofty, rugged mountains of limestone. But both these plains present a very different aspect in the spring, and are in fact very fertile districts if properly managed. An inundation called Taki appears

[a] Φραγκό-βρυσις.

in the corner to our right. The great elevation of the plain above the level of the sea is immediately evident from the comparative height of the mountains, which appear much lower here than they do from the side of Argos or of Megalopolis. Having descended into the plain, the road ceases to be paved, and at the end of four miles we arrive at the gates of the capital, of which nothing is seen but a small part of the walls, until we are close upon it.

On the highest point of a hill at the southern end of the city, a large tower serves for a citadel; the rest of the fortification consists of a poor Turkish wall, with small towers, which are rather more respectable than the wall, but are situated at great distances apart. The walls inclose within them several vacant spaces, where the rugged rock is seen in many places projecting above the soil. The houses are built of mud bricks like the other towns of the Moréa, the streets are no less filthy and ill-paved, and the habitations in general equally wretched.

In the principal Mosque, among the barbarous columns of the portico, there is a fine Doric fluted shaft of white marble brought from the ruins of *Tegea*. There is another of the same material and dimensions in a smaller mosque near the Palace. The latter building surrounds a large square court not far from the great

Mosque, and is a good specimen of the miserable magnificence of Turkey.

March 6.—This forenoon I visit Mehmét Pashá, surnamed Vanlí, as being a native of Van near the frontiers of Persia[a]; my reception was marked with the ceremony and civility that no Turkish governor now dares refuse to an Englishman, but without the smallest appearance of cordiality, and I am told that the Vanlí is considered as leaning to the French. He has feed his adherents at Constantinople so well, that he hopes to remain in his government another year. His most active partizan there is Dhimítri Paparagópulo, a Tripolitziote. This man began by carrying on a small business as a serráf, or broker, in which capacity he served Alý Effendi, a Turk of Tripolitzá, who was ambassador at Paris. Dhimítri, having discovered that the Sultan was fond of French manufactures and wines, advised Alý to send him some as presents, and thus obtained favour for his patron, who in return procured the French protection for Dhimítri. Alý on his return to Constantinople was appointed Tersané-Tefterdár, or treasurer of the navy, an office intended as a check upon the Capitán Pashá, and Dhi-

[a] He is a Vezír, or Pasha of Three Tails, and, as governor of the Moréa, is intituled by the Turks Mora Válesi.

mítri rose so rapidly in his business of serráf, that he is now courted by a Pashá of Three Tails. Papadhópulo of Aios Petros, or St. Peter's[a], and Barbópulo of Tripolitzá are of the same party, and under the favour of Vanlí find their interest in oppressing all their fellow Christians who are in their power. So much do they resemble Turks, that I hear them called Papásoglu and Bárboglu; and they are said to delight in giving their names this Turkish form.

March 10. Τριπολιτζὰ, vulgarly pronounced Tripolitjá, and called by the Turks Tarabolúsa, is the chief town of a Kazá, bounded by those of Argos, Mistrá, Londári, Karítena, and Kalávryta. St. Peter's properly belongs to it, but being inhabited entirely by Christians, it has been formed into a separate Vilayéti, under the government of a Greek Hodjá-bashi, immediately responsible to the Pashá, who has found this the best mode of ensuring order, and collecting the revenue, in the difficult mountains which form that district. The Vilayéti of Tripolitzá contains sixty villages, including those of St. Peter's. The town contains 2,500 houses, of which 1,000 are Greek. The walls were built about sixteen years ago, probably at the same time as those of Athens, which they much resemble in their paltry construction.

[a] Ἅγιος Πέτρος.

The grass on the plain of Tripolitzá is of a very fine quality, and so plentiful and long that there is a regular hay harvest. The climate differs from that of the maritime plains almost as much as the south of England from the south of France. In the winter the snow often lies very thick upon the plain for several days. It has now been raining, with little intermission, for five days, and there has been much thunder; the mountains around are covered with snow. Mount Khrepa, or Apanokrépa[a] as it is generally called, which is the highest summit of Mount *Mænalium*, lies between Tripolitzá and *Mantineia*, but nearer the former. Of the opposite, or eastern range, the summit is called Turníki, from a village of that name in one of the roads to Argos. Mount Málevo[b], in the direction of Aios Petros, and seen over the part of the range which bounds the plain of *Tegea*, is higher than either of these, to judge by the quantity of snow which crowns it. Its height is probably about 5,000 feet.

March 11.—A sharp frost this morning. I ride out with Kyr Yanatáki[c], agent of the English consul at Patra, to Paleó Episkopí, a ruined church on the site of *Tegea*, about three miles and a half on the road to Aios

[a] Ἀπανωχρέπα.

[b] From Male, *mountain*, in the Sclavonic languages.

[c] Γιανατάκης.

Petros. The position, though so near to Tripolitzá, is not seen from it, the view being interrupted by a rising ground upon which stands a church of Aio Sosti (St. Saviour). This height is the summit of a low ridge which crosses from Mount *Mænalium* to the eastern range, and separates the course of the waters flowing to the Taki, from those which flow to another inundation near the village of Persová on the road which leads to Argos, over Mount *Parthenium*. Paleó Episkopí, or the old episcopal church, stands on a small height in the middle of the fields, on the right hand side of the road to St. Peter's, and is surrounded at a small distance by the remains of a wall apparently of the same date as the church, which is built of brick mixed with fragments of ancient architecture of white marble, together with plain wrought blocks and mutilated inscriptions of the same material. One of the latter I find very interesting, though consisting merely of names, as a part of these names are classed under the four φυλαὶ, or tribes of the citizens of Tegea mentioned by Pausanias. They are ranged under the four heads of

ΙΠΠΟΘΟΙΤΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ
ΕΠ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ
ΚΡΑΡΙΩΤΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΙ

after which follows a long list of ΜΕΤΟΙΚΟΙ, or

sojourners. In our copies of Pausanias[a] the names are written Ἱπποθοΐτις, Ἀθανεάτις, Κλαρεῶτις, and Ἀπολλωνεάτις. I measured here a piece of architrave of which the metope was one foot in breadth, the length of the glyphs of the triglyph one foot eight inches. I found also, lying on the ground, the trunk of a white marble statue, measuring ten inches and a half from the hip-bone to the arm-pit. The form is elegant, but no part, except the back, preserves its surface.

After passing an hour here we ride to the little village of Akhúria[b], close to which my companion possesses a farm. The priest whose house we enter sets before us a menestra, or soup made of rice and salted star-fish[c], with a dish of boiled wild onions, cold and without oil, nothing but salt, pepper, and vinegar being allowed in Lent; afterwards, on finding that I do not keep fast, he produces some eggs and better wine than I got in the city, though as light in body as in colour, and deriving its flavour entirely from the turpentine with which it is fortified to prevent its turning sour in the spring.

The Plain of *Tegea*, which lies on a lower level than that of Tripolitzá, presents a very different aspect, being almost entirely cultivated with corn and vines. It produces excellent

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 53. [b] Ἀχούρια. [c] ὀκταπόδι.

wheat and barley. Kalambókki is chiefly grown in the lowest part, near the Taki, where a great part of the ground now inundated is dry in the summer. The slope of the land, though scarcely perceptible, is such that the upper part of the plain of *Tegea* is well drained into this lake. In many parts the soil appears stony and light, in others it is a rich black loam. From Akhúria we ride to Pialí[a], a village belonging to Yanatáki, where, in the church, which is in ruins and without a roof, I find many fragments of the ancient *Tegea*, such as pieces of fluted columns of white marble, and a fragment of architrave, with a caput bovis for the metope; but the most remarkable remáins at Pialí are the foundations of an ancient building near the church, formed of fine squared stones, among which are two pieces of some large columns of white marble. They are so much buried in the ground, that the only dimension I could obtain was the chord of the fluting, measuring eight inches; the fluting Doric, whereas some of those in the columns in the church appeared to be Ionic. The small marble Doric columns in the mosques of Tripolitzá are known to have been brought ten years ago from Pialí, where they were dug out of a pond near the church, on the side of which some lofty white poplars[b]

[a] Πιαλὴ. [b] λεύκα.

are now growing. The Papás says that fifteen of the small columns were then taken out, but he cannot inform me what became of them all. It is said that some steps of marble, deeply worn by use, were found in the same pond. The excavation, where the fragments of the great columns are still lying, is more recent, and has been made for the purpose of obtaining building materials. The great columns must be broken, before they can be of any use to modern workmen, and I cannot learn that any of them have yet been so treated; so that perhaps the masons, finding these great cylinders of hard marble too intractable, may resort to some new excavation, or be satisfied with the foundation stones, which are of a stone less hard. Though the proximity of so large a modern town as Tripolitzá must have been injurious to the preservation of the remains of *Tegea*, the deep alluvial soil of its site, on the other hand, is favourable to the concealment of such treasures, and may still contain some of the works of Grecian art, which remained there at the end of the second century.

The principal objects then observed by Pausanias[a] were, a stadium near the Temple of Minerva Alea, formed entirely of embankments

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 45, 46, 47, 48. 52, 53.

of earth, without any seats of stone[a]; here were celebrated two gymnastic contests, called Alæa and Halotia. On the northern side of the temple was the fountain Auge, and three stades distant from it the Temple of Hermes Æpytus. There were temples also of Minerva Poliatis and of Diana Hegemone. The Agora contained a temple of Venus, surnamed ἐν πλίνθῳ, or "Venus in the tile", from the shape of the Agora; the statue of the goddess was of marble. There were two στῆλαι, or pillars, upon one of which were represented in high relief[b] four Tegeate legislators; on another a citizen of Tegea, who had been victorious at Olympia. On a third pillar, the figure of Mars Gynæcothænas was wrought in low relief[c]. The Agora contained likewise, an altar of Jupiter Teleius, with a quadrangular statue, "a form in which," adds Pausanias, "the Arcadians seem to me greatly to delight;" also, monuments of Tegeatas, son of Lycaon, and his wife, Mærà, daughter of Atlas;—a temple and statue of Lucina[d], surnamed ἐν γόνασι, or "on the knees," near which was an altar of the Earth[e];—and two pillars of white marble, bearing

[a] στάδιον χῶμα γῆς ἐστι.
[b] στήλαις ἐπειργασμένοι.
[c] ἄγαλμα ἐκτετύπωται ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ.
[d] Εἰλείθυια.
[e] γῆς βωμός.

in relief[a] the figures of Polybius and of Elatus, son of Arcas. Near the Agora was the theatre containing the pedestals[b] of some brazen statues, which had been removed; one of the pedestals had supported a statue of Philopœmen, and was inscribed with an elegy of eight lines in his honour.

In other parts of Tegea Pausanias remarked "statues erected by each of the four tribes of the Tegeatæ, to Apollo Agyieus,—a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, surnamed the Fruit-bearers[c], and near it a temple of Venus Paphia,—two temples of Bacchus,—an altar of Proserpine,—a temple of Apollo, containing a gilded statue by Cheirisophus of Crete, by which stood a statue of Cheirisophus himself in marble,—the Common Hearth of the Arcadians[d], containing a statue of Hercules, with a wound in the thigh,—the house of Aleus,—and the monument of Echemus, with a pillar on which was represented in relief[e] the battle of Echemus and Hyllus." But of all the buildings or monuments at Tegea the most remarkable was "the temple of Minerva Alea, originally built by Aleus, the founder of the city, and renewed afterwards in a magnificent manner by the Tegeatæ. The second temple having been burnt in the last year of the 96th Olympiad,

[a] ἐπὶ στήλῃ εἰργασμένος. [b] βάθρα. [c] Καρποφόροι.
[d] Ἑστία Ἀρκάδων Κοινή. [e] ἐπειργασμένην ἐς στήλην.

(B. C. 392.) the Tegeatæ employed Scopas, of Parus, to build a third, "a man," adds Pausanias, "who has made many statues as well in Greece as in Ionia and Caria."

The Aeti, or pediments of the temple, were adorned with works of entire statuary. In the front Aetus was represented the hunting of the boar of Calydon. The centre was occupied by the boar, on one side of which were Atalante, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, Iolaus, Prothous, Cometes; on the other side were Epochus supporting Ancæus, who was represented as wounded and dropping his axe [a], then Castor and Amphiaraus, Hippothous, and lastly Peirithous. The Aetus at the back of the temple contained the contest of Telephus and Achilles in the plain of the Caicus. After the battle of Actium, Augustus, displeased with the Tegeatæ for having espoused the cause of Antonius in conjunction with all the other Arcadians except the Mantinenses, carried away from Tegea an ancient ivory statue of Minerva Alea by Endœus, together with the teeth of the Calydonian boar, leaving the skin, which, with some other dedications more remarkable for curiosity than beauty, still remained in the temple at Tegea in the time of Pausanias. The statue of Minerva was placed in the entrance of

[a] πέλεκυν.

the forum of Augustus at Rome, and one of the teeth in the temple of Bacchus in Cæsar's gardens; the other was said to have been broken.

The statue of Minerva which Pausanias found in the temple of Alea had been brought from the demus of the Manthurenses, where it was called the statue of Minerva Hippia. Æsculapius and Hygieia, made of Pentelic marble by Scopas, stood on either side of the goddess. Her altar was of high antiquity, and rich with works in relief. "The temple of Minerva Alea," adds Pausanias, "far excels all the temples in Peloponnesus, both in magnitude and in the other particulars of its construction[a]. The columns are of three orders, first, Doric, then Corinthian, and on the outside of the temple Ionic."[b] The same testimony as to the superior magnificence of the temple of Minerva Alea is repeated by him in speaking of that of Apollo at Bassæ, near Phigaleia, which he describes as "inferior to none of the temples of Peloponnesus, except that of Tegea, either in the beauty of its material or the harmony of its construction[c]."

I have already observed, that the material of

[a] Ἐς κατασκευὴν προίσχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος.

[b] Ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῷ κόσμος τῶν κιόνων Δώριος· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κορίνθιος· ἑστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων.

[c] Τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας εἵνεκα.

the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, was a soft coni-chite limestone; that of Phigaleia, if I am not misinformed, is of an ordinary, though very hard, kind of limestone. It seems to follow, therefore, from the words of Pausanias alone, that the temple of Minerva Alea was of white marble; and hence it is highly probable that the large columns which I saw at Pialí belonged to that building. Those columns are about five feet in diameter. Now, unless the temple of Alea was decastyle, these dimensions are too small to have belonged to the outer peristyle, since Pausanias gives us to understand that the temple of Alea was larger than the Olympian temple, which was nearly of the same size as the Parthenon. In the Olympian, which was a hexastyle, the columns were more than seven feet in diameter: in the Athenian, which was an octastyle, they were upwards of six. It is clear, moreover, from Pausanias, that the outer peristyle of the temple of Minerva Alea was not Doric, but Ionic; for his words, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, are precisely those which he makes use of in describing the peristyle of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. One can only infer, therefore, that the Doric columns formed an order within the cell, though for what reason Pausanias could have described this order as πρῶτος, or the first, it seems difficult to understand; by

the words ἐπὶ τούτῳ, "above this order," he probably meant an upper range of small columns supporting the roof, like those still existing at Pæstum. Perhaps future excavations will bring to light some Ionic columns of still larger dimensions than the great Doric columns at Pialí. The smaller Doric columns, which have been removed from *Tegea* to the mosques of Tripolitzá, may have belonged to one of the other temples mentioned by Pausanias, and not to the temple of Minerva Alea; or possibly to a colonnade round the pond, which seems, by the steps I have mentioned, to have once belonged to the hierum of Minerva Alea.

There are a few plantations of mulberries about Pialí; neither in these nor any of the few other trees which are seen on the site of *Tegea* is there any appearance of spring. The corn is just above ground. The part of the plain to the south of the height of Aio Sosti is about ten miles in circumference, and contains fifteen or twenty villages. *Tegea* stood at the northern end of it, and it seems not improbable, that the height upon which the church of Aio Sosti stands was the χωρίον ὑψηλὸν, or high place, mentioned by Pausanias as sacred to Jupiter Clarius, on which there were many altars, and where an ἑορτὴ, or festival, was celebrated. I am assured at Pialí that walls can be traced from a little

village on the eastern side of this height, round by Paleó-Episkopí to Pialí, which is one mile and a half from Aio Sosti. This would make *Tegea* three or four miles in circumference. I did not procure a single coin at Pialí, whereas at Ibrahim Effendi, a little hamlet a mile to the north-west, where we rode afterwards, the peasants brought me fifty in the course of a few minutes, all found in ploughing near Paleó-Episkopí. Some of these are of *Arcadia*, and one or two of *Tegea* itself, but the greater part are of the Lower Empire, at which period it is probable that *Tegea* was reduced to a small town round the church, which is certainly of a remote period of Christianity, and, from its present name, appears to have been once the cathedral of a bishoprick.

All the wells which I saw about the villages on the site of *Tegea* are formed of ancient materials, chiefly of white marble. These wells yield excellent water. In our way back to Tripolitzá we ride up to the village and church of Aio Sosti. It commands a fine view of the whole plain of *Tegea*, with the surrounding mountains, *Cresium*, *Boreium*, *Mænalium*, *Parthenium*; to the north is seen the plain of Tripolitzá, together with the south-eastern part of that of *Mantineia* inclosed between the parallel ridges of *Mænalium* and *Artemisium*. The re-

mainder of the *Mantineian* plain is shut out by an eastern projection of the heights of Mount Khrepa. To the westward of Aio Sosti the country swells into gentle risings, reaching as far as the low ridge which runs to Tripolitzá from Mount *Boreium*. This ridge forms a natural separation between the valley of *Pallantium* and that of *Tegea*. The road from Frangóvrysi to the capital traverses the whole length of the former.

In returning to Tripolitzá we overtake Kyr Anagnósti Papásoglu, the Greek governor of Aios Petros, with pistols at his girdle, and preceded by three Albanian soldiers, going on a visit to the Pashá. He generally travels with twenty or thirty armed Albanians, but does not venture to make his appearance before the Turkish court with more than his present escort.

March 12.—I ride with Kyr Yanatáki to Paleópoli, as the site of Mantineia is now called; set out at 9.30, a cold foggy morning. Arrive there in little more than an hour, the distance about eight miles. The road, which in some places is muddy, passes along the foot of Mount Khrepa to a projecting point, where a low ridge of rocks extends for some distance into the plain, opposite to a projection of the eastern mountains, and thus forms a natural division in it. By the road side I saw the foundations

of a Hellenic wall. Proceeding we soon find ourselves opposite to the monastery and small village of Tzipianá, in the road which leads from Tripolitzá to Argos by Turníki, over the highest part of the mountain anciently called Artemisium. There are said to be twenty monks in the convent, which stands on the side of a rock at a considerable elevation above the plain. Our road turns afterwards to the north, and then crosses the plain of *Mantineia* diagonally, leaving to the left the Kalávryta road, which continues to the northern extremity of the plain, where it ascends a ridge which forms a natural separation between the *Mantinice* and *Orchomenia*. The plain of *Mantineia* is not much cultivated. The corn-fields are just beginning to look green; in other parts the labourers are ploughing the ground which is to lie fallow this year. In the vineyards they are cutting down the last year's shoots, and hoeing the ground into little hillocks; this seems to be the severest kind of labour. I saw a very young girl and a boy still younger at the plough in a field by the roadside as I passed by in the morning, and when I returned in the evening they were still at work. The only supper after a day of such fatigue in this season of fast, is probably a lump of bread made of maize. It is not surprising

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that the women all look old at thirty. The men bear want and hard labour better; but though strong, they have a wrinkled weather-beaten countenance before they are full grown. When sick they have no physician but nature. The vineyards in this plain have a square vat of masonry built in the field for treading the grapes, after which operation the juice, in skins, is carried into the villages. Kalambókki in the plains of *Tegea* and *Mantineia* is sown in the end of April and beginning of May, when the inundated parts are clear of water; the grain is reaped in September.

Among the scenes of desolation which Greece presents in every part, there is none more striking to the traveller who has read Pausanias, than the Mantinice. Instead of the large fortified city, and the objects which dignified the approach from Tegea, namely, the Stadium, Hippodrome, Temple of Neptune, and other monuments, the landscape now presents only rocky ridges, inclosing a still more naked plain, where not a single tree can be found to represent the wood of oaks and cork-trees, called Pelagus, or the groves and gardens which we may suppose to have been maintained in constant verdure in such a temperate climate as that of this elevated plain, by its copious supply of water.

Mantineia, like Tegea, was situated entirely

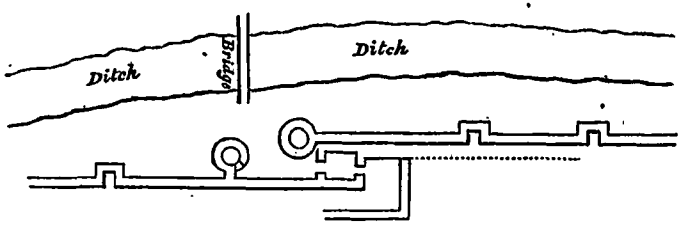
in the plain, and nearly in its lowest part; as appears by the course of the waters. It had not even the advantage of such a rising ground as that of Aio Sosti at *Tegea*, at the same time that the insulated rocky height of Gurtzúli seems to have been inconveniently near, when not forming a part of the defences. In the existing ruins I could not discover any citadel, or interior inclosure of any kind. The circuit of the walls is entire, with the exception of a space of four or five towers on the eastern side; in no place are there more than three courses of masonry existing above the ground, and this height is so uniform that one cannot but believe that the remainder of the works was constructed in sun-baked brick, as it appears to have been when Agesipolis, by means of the little river Ophis, which flowed through the city, made an inundation which submerged the foundations, and effected a breach in the superstructure [a]. As it is difficult to conceive the possibility of forming from the rivulets of the Mantinice an inundation, sufficiently deep to cover the existing remains, it is probable, that when Mantineia was again fortified, soon after the battle of Leuctra [b], a repetition of the former disaster was guarded against, by giving a greater height

[a] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5. c. 2.—Pausan. Arcad. c. 8.

[b] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. c. 5.

to the foundations, which, in such a marshy level, must always have been of stone, and thus the fortification, according to the ideas of Pausanias, answered every purpose; "for walls," he observes, "made of crude brick are the best against military engines, but when exposed to the action of water they dissolve like wax before the sun." The masonry approaches the most regular kind, but the courses are not always equal and horizontal, nor the stones always rectangular; and there are also some perfect specimens of the polygonal, or second order, which may be parts of the more ancient work. As in the generality of Hellenic walls, the facing only of the work is constructed with large wrought stones put together without cement; the middle being filled up with a rubble of broken stones mixed with mortar: the inner facing was two feet thick, the outer four feet, the rubble four feet, total ten feet. The form of the city was slightly elliptical, and about equal to a circle of 1250 yards in diameter, or two miles and a quarter in circumference. The number of towers, if I reckoned right, is 118, the curtains are generally about eighty feet long, the towers twenty-three feet in the face, and thirteen in the flanks. There were ten gates, the approach to which was carefully defended; the mode varies in almost all of them, and furnishes a

curious illustration of Greek military architecture. The following figure will give an idea of one of them.



The entire circuit of the walls is protected by a wet ditch, formed by a small stream, which flows in from the east, and, embracing the city so as to make it an island, flows westward from the opposite extremity. Though formed by a running stream, the ditch is almost stagnant. I found a great number of serpents sleeping in the sun on the edge of the ditch, under the walls. *Mantineia*, being more distant than *Tegea* from Tripolitzá, has probably not been so much disturbed by masonic depredations. Indeed, I should think an excavation would give nearly a complete plan of the town; for the foundations of the houses and the line of the streets are in some places apparent.

When Pausanias visited Mantineia, it had recently received great favours from the Emperor Hadrian, chiefly for the sake of his favourite, Antinous, who was a native of Bithyneium on the Sangarius, which was a colony of Mantineia. Hadrian directed a temple of Antinous to be

built at Mantineia, a τελετὴ, or annual ceremony, to be celebrated in honour of him, and games every fifth year in the Stadium, at the same time that the ancient name Mantineia was restored to the city, in place of that of Antigoneia, which had been attached to it in honour of Antigonus Gonatas, King of Macedonia[a]. The following were the monuments which Pausanias[b] observed within the city. First, "a double temple, divided in the middle by a wall, and containing in one part a statue of Æsculapius by Alcamenes, in the other statues of Latona and her children, by Praxiteles. On the pedestal[c] which supported the latter a muse was represented in relief, with Marsyas playing on the pipe. Here were also a figure of Polybius in relief[d] on a pillar, and temples of Jupiter Soter, of Jupiter Epidotus, and of the Dioscuri; in a different part of the town there was a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, in which a perpetual fire was maintained. Near the theatre stood a temple of Juno, containing three statues, by Praxiteles, namely, Juno seated on a throne, with her daughter Hebe and Minerva standing by her. Near the altar of Juno was the tomb[e] of Arcas, which, by command

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 8.
[b] Ibid. c. 9.
[c] βάθρῳ.
[d] ἐπείργασται στήλῃ.
[e] τάφος.

of the oracle of Delphi, was brought hither from Triodi [a] in Mount Mænalium. Not far from the theatre there were two monuments; that called the Common Hearth [b], was circular, and was said to be the tomb of Autonoe; on the other was a pillar, upon which Gryllus, son of Xenophon, was represented in relief [c], mounted on a horse. Behind the theatre were the ruins of the temple of Venus Symmachia, which had been erected in commemoration of the alliance of the Romans and Mantinenses, in the sea-fight at Actium. The statue had been removed, but an epigram on the basis, shewed that it had been dedicated by Nicippe [d]. There were also a temple and statue of Minerva Alea, a temple of Antinous, and a house in the Gymnasium, which, besides containing statues of Antinous, was remarkable for its marbles and pictures, of which the greater part were portraits of Antinous in the character of Bacchus. "I never saw this man" adds Pausanias, "while he was living, but I have seen many statues and pictures of him." The same building contained an imitation [e] of a picture of the battle of Mantineia

[a] Vide Pausan. Arcad. c. 36.

[b] Ἑστία Κοινή.

[c] ἐπειργασμένος ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ.

[d] Pausanias does not say how this temple, comparatively recent, came to be in ruins. Perhaps it had been destroyed by the other Arcadians, to all whom the Mantinenses, when allied with Augustus, were opposed.

[e] μίμημα.

which was in the Cerameicus at Athens [a]. In the Agora of Mantineia there was a brazen statue of Deomeneia, and the heroum of Podares, who distinguished himself in the battle of Mantineia, next to Gryllus and Cephisodorus; but the designation of another Podares, a descendant of the former, had been substituted upon the monument, three generations before the time of Pausanias, in place of that of the hero himself.

The theatre of Mantineia still exists in part; it stood towards the north side of the inclosure, about midway between the centre of the city and the walls. Its diameter was about 240 feet. A part of the circular wall which supported the cavea remains, and is of polygonal masonry.

On the north-eastern side of the city, just within the walls, are the Kalývia of Paleópoli, where two huts now contain all the inhabitants of *Mantineia*. They form part of a tjiftlik belonging to a Turk of Tripolitzá, who has lately built on the side of the neighbouring hill eight or ten houses, which having also been called Paleópoli, the huts within the ancient walls have become a Kalývia [b], or dependent hamlet; and thus the proud city, one of the eyes of Arcadia,

[a] Vide Pausan. Attic. c. 3.

[b] Τὰ Καλύβια, the Huts, is commonly applied in Greece to a hamlet inhabited by the labourers of a village or convent, which may be too distant to be a convenient residence for them.

has become a dependency of a farm of an Asiatic barbarian.

To the north of Mantineia rises the high conical insulated hill already alluded to, upon which stands the village of Gurtzúli [a].

From the ruins I rode up to the tjiftlik, or ζευγαλατία of Paleópoli, and afterwards to Gurtzúli, which consists of twelve or fifteen houses, together with the Pyrgo of the Agá who owns the village. On the summit of the hill there is a ruined church, shaded by some holly-oaks, from whence there is an extensive view of the plain and surrounding mountains. To the north-east is seen the village of Pikérni, or Pikérnes [b], now the largest in the *Mantiñice*. It is situated in a recess of the *Artemisian* range; a torrent running by the village receives the water of a fountain from the southern side of the valley, and then descends to Paleópoli, near which it is joined by a smaller rivulet from the southward. The united stream, as I have already remarked, then separates again, and after having encircled the ancient walls, again flows in a single body to the north-west, where it is joined by a larger rivulet which, descending from the part of Mount *Artemisium* near Tzipianá, passes along the plain to the westward of the ruins. The

[a] Γκουρτζούλι. [b] Πικέρνη, or Πικέρναις.

united waters then stagnate in the plain, or when sufficiently copious find a subterraneous exit by a Katavóthra[a], as the Moréites call those subterraneous channels which are frequent in the limestone mountains of the Peninsula. Indeed, so many of the valleys of Arcadia are surrounded on every side with mountains, that without such a provision of nature, they must be lakes, or at least uncultivable marshes. Even with the assistance of the Katavóthra there are lakes or marshes in almost all the valleys. The *Mantinic* plain is so dead a level, that it is marshy during all the winter months and great part of the spring.

At Gurtzúli we found none but women, the men being all at work in the fields. In reply to our request for refreshment, they protested that they had not anything eatable in the village; but as this assertion would not pass muster with Kyr Yanatáki, they produced at length some eggs, wine, and wheaten bread for me, and for my companion some cold bean porridge of yesterday, which, being a solid mass, is sliced and eaten with salt and vinegar: during our meal

[a] This word, generally used in the plural, (τὰ Καταβῶθρα, as I should write it,) I imagine to be an abbreviation of Καταβάραθρα, for βάραθρα was the ancient word for these caverns; had it been from Κατάβαθρον, the accent would have been different.

our hostesses bring me a great number of coins, and I procure several more on returning to the ruins from the men and boys of the Kalývia, who plough the corn fields which now occupy all the space within the ancient walls. Some of these are just brought to light by the plough; the silver were all of Sicyon. They tell me that none find medals but those who work at Paleópoli.

The Hippodrome and Stadium of Mantineia, as Pausanias informs us [a], were at the foot of Mount Alesium, at no great distance from the city, on the road to Tegea; *Alesium* is thus identified with the projection of the range of *Artemisium*, which closes the vale of Pikérnes on the south; I could not however trace any remains either of the Hippodrome or Stadium. The latter must have been at least half a mile from the walls, for the temple of Neptune, near which it stood, was seven stades distant from them [b]. On the mountain itself there was a grove of Ceres [c]. I purchased from a peasant of Pikérnes a curious little relique, which seems once to have been a dedication in the grove of Ceres. It is a small term surmounted with a head of Ceres, or at least with an ideal female head, having a lock of hair hanging on either

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 10.

[b] Polyb. l. xi. c. 14.

[c] Δήμητρος ἄλσος ἐν τῷ ὄρει. Pausan. ibid.

shoulder, the usual indication of divinity; on the neck are the words ΧΡΙΩΝΙΣ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ —Chrionis to Ceres.

Mount *Mœnalium*, which forms a continued ridge along the western side of the plains of Tripolitzá and Paleópoli, is now deeply covered with snow, amidst which appears a scattered forest of firs: the mountain for the most part is a bare white limestone. Mount Turníki, the ancient Artemisium, is of equal height, and also produces firs.

Having passed the whole day at Gurtzúli, or at the ruins, employing the theodolite, sextant, and tape, I return by the same road to Tripolitzá, where we arrive at sunset, having halted only a few minutes at the rocky point already mentioned, which projects from the *Mœnalian* range,—not because any thing is now to be seen here more than I before described, but because it seems quite clear to me that this was the place called Scope, where Epaminondas expired in the arms of victory, and near which his monument, erected on the spot where he fell, still remained in the time of Pausanias. "After proceeding", says that careful observer, "thirty stades on the road from Mantineia to Pallantium, the grove called Pelagus is near the road; here the cavalry of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians fought against that of

the Bœotians, ... Epaminondas being wounded, was carried out of the battle. Holding his hand upon the wound, and in great pain, he continued to view the engagement from the place, which was afterwards called Scope, until seeing that the combat was at an end, he withdrew his hand and expired. He was buried where the action took place. Upon the tomb stands a column[a], bearing a shield, upon which a serpent is represented in relief; the serpent signifies that Epaminondas was of the race of the Sparti[b]. There are pillars[c] on the monument, one of which is ancient, and bears a Bœotian epigram, the other was raised by the Emperor Hadrian, who composed[d] also the epigram which is upon it." There is no doubt that the rocky point in question was on the ancient road from Mantineia to Pallantium; for Pallantium, if not upon the site of Tripolitzá, must have been exactly in that direction from Mantineia. The wood Pelagus occupied the middle of the plain; for the road from Mantineia to Tegea passed through it; and it is evident, from the passage just translated, that the wood extended westward nearly to the Pallantium road. The space between the foot of the mountain and the forest was the place

[a] κίων.
[b] Those sown by Cadmus.
[c] στῆλαι.
[d] ἐποίησε.

therefore where the cavalry of the two armies fought. The narrow opening between the two opposite mountains formed a natural limit between the Mantinice and Tegeatice, and the evidence of Pausanias concurs in showing that here was the frontier of the two districts. He says, "Beyond the temple of Neptune," (which, as I have already remarked, was seven stades from the walls on the road to Tegea,) "you arrive at a place full of oaks, called Pelagus, through which leads the road from Mantineia to Tegea: the boundary between the Mantinenses and Tegeatæ is an altar in the road."

March 14 and 15.—Frost and snow. I measure the column-shaft, from *Tegea*, which stands in the corner of the gallery of the second mosque; it tapers, is formed of a single block of white marble, and is eight feet two inches in height; there are twenty flutings, each three inches and three quarters in the chord; the diameter, therefore, is about two feet. I enter the mosque, but find nothing remarkable.

The Greek bishop who resides at Tripolitzá is called Bishop of Moukhla, and takes his title from a ruined town of the Lower Empire, which lies to the left of the road from Tripolitzá to Argos over Mount Parthéni, as the ancient Parthenium is still called. The Bishop is a suffragan of the metropolitan of Lacedæmon.

It is supposed by the Greeks that Moukhla was a settlement from *Amyclæ* of *Laconia*, and that it was one of the three places which were united to form Tripolitzá, the other two being Tegea and Mantineia; an hypothesis preferable perhaps to that which supposes Pallantium, Tegea, and Mantineia to have been the three places; since, besides the authority of tradition in its favour, there is the consideration that even in the time of Pausanias Pallantium was supported by ancient recollections, and had probably ceased to exist long before the foundation of Tripolitzá.

March 16.—I ride out in search of *Pallantium*; first making half the circuit of the walls of the town by going out at the Kalávryta gate, and then turning to the left and riding round to the Londári road, or that by which I arrived on the 5th. I then leave the Londári road to the left, and ascend over the rocky roots of Mount *Mœnalium*, until I come to the aqueduct which supplies the castle of Tripolitzá; this I follow among the gorges, until I arrive at the spring which supplies it; the source is very copious, and is situated in a little rocky hollow, resembling, on a small scale, the valley of the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes in Egypt, except that here a patch of corn covers the bottom. This, however, is not the only source

that feeds the aqueduct; it is joined by another conduit from a valley at the foot of Mount Krávari, or *Boreium*, on the left of the road to Londári. From the springs I ride directly up the side of one of the rocky hills, and having arrived at the summit, look down upon a small village situated among the mountains, called Sylímnà, behind which, on the northern side, rises a peaked height: the fountains and rivulets around, all run into the river of Daviá[a]: which comes from the north through a narrow valley, dividing Mount Khrepa from the ranges which follow the eastern side of the plain of *Megalopolis*.

The river of Daviá is certainly the *Helisson*, one of the branches of the *Alpheius*; its principal sources are at Alonístena, a village in Mount *Mœnalium*, on the way to Vitína. I descend to Sylímna; from whence, finding no vestiges of antiquity there, I continue the descent into the valley: then, leaving the village of Karteróli, and the Karítena road to the left, turn along the roots of Mount Khrepa, and arrive at a mill, supplied by a rivulet flowing directly from the southernmost summit, where, in a very lofty situation facing the south, is seen the monastery of 'the All-holy Virgin upon Khrepa.'[b] I follow the mill-stream into a little retired valley

[a] Ποτάμι τῆς Νταβιᾶς. [b] Ἡ Παναγία Ἀπάνω-Χρέπα.

at the foot of the Apáno-Khrepa on the western side, and leaving a pyrgo, and some cottages belonging to a Turk, as well as another little Kalývia on the left, fall into one of the roads which lead from the villages in the valley of the *Helisson* to Tripolitzá, and which all join the Karítena road near a pass through the rocky height at the back of the city, which leads directly to the Karítena gate, or the first from the castle towards the north. I was told of a Paleókastro near Sylímna, but it proved to be nothing but a ruined church on the top of a rock. The retired valley at the western foot of Mount Khrepa could not, I think, have been very far from the site of *Mænalus*, though I could not hear of any remains of antiquity in that direction. As to Pallantium, it must clearly have been on the eastern side of the Mænalian ridge, for the Pallantic plain [a] is certainly that which I traversed in its whole length, in the road from Frangóvrysi, and which terminates at the castle of Tripolitzá. Thana, a village standing on the ridge which bounds the Pallantic valley eastward, and situated between two and three miles southward of Tripolitzá, is supposed by the Greeks of the city to have once been a considerable town [b], but there are

[a] τὸ Παλλαντικὸν πεδίον. Pausan. Arcad. c. 44.

[b] παλαιὰ χώρα.

scarcely any indications of Hellenic antiquity at that place, and upon the whole I am inclined to think, that Pallantium occupied a part of Tripolitzá itself; which would at once account for the want of any remains of Pallantium, all such having been lost in subsequent constructions. The castle-hill is perhaps that, which Pausanias describes as having once been the Acropolis of Pallantium, and upon which there existed in his time a sanctuary of the gods, surnamed Cathari, or the Pure; for it is almost inconceivable that this height, which stands at the opening of the principal pass leading from the *Mantinico-Tegeatic* plain over the *Mœnalian* range into the *Megalopolitis*, and in so commanding a position with regard to the two most important of the Arcadian plains, should not have been occupied by the ancients.

Pallantium was one of the oldest cities in Arcadia, but it had dwindled to a small town[a] when Antoninus Pius again raised it to the rank of a city, and bestowed upon it freedom and an immunity from tribute[b]. These favours were conferred upon Pallantium, in consideration of its having been the metropolis from whence Evander brought a colony to Rome, and from which one of the hills of Rome received the name of Palatine. Virgil, however, it must be observed,

[a] κώμη. [b] ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν φόρων.

does not agree in this respect with Antoninus, as he supposes Evander to have come from Pheneus. Notwithstanding the emperor's patronage, Pallantium scarcely revived, as seems clear from the manner in which Pausanias, who visited the place soon after its restoration, speaks of the Acropolis[a]. In the town he remarked only a temple of Pallas, with statues of Pallas and Evander in marble, a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and near it a statue of Polybius.

[a] τῷ λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὅσα ἀκροπόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐχρῶντο. Pausan. Arcad. c. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

ARCADIA.—LACONIA.

From Tripolitzá to Mistrá.—Amyclæ, Menelaium, Sparta.

March 17.—I leave Tripolitzá at 9 for Mistrá, with one of the Pashá's Tartars, by whose assistance I advance at the rate of four miles and a half an hour. After losing twenty minutes, we begin at $10\frac{3}{4}$ to ascend the ridge, which appears, from the words of Pausanias[a], to have been called Cresium; for after observing that Choma, which was on the northern side of Mount Boreium, was the boundary of the Megalopolitæ towards Pallantium and Tegea, he adds, that in proceeding from thence to Tegea, Cresium was a small mountain on the right hand. The inundation called Taki is not far from us on the right; the plain around this lake appears, from another part of the passage of Pausanias just referred to, to have been the Manthuric[b], or plain of the demus Manthurenses[c], it is not so well

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 44. [b] Μανθουρικὸν πεδίον. [c] Μανθουρεῖς.

cultivated or inhabited, nor nearly so extensive as the part of the Tegeatic plain which remains on our left. The inundation terminates in a katavóthra, or cavern, at the foot of a perpendicular cliff in Mount Krávari. There is a constant stream running into the mountain through the cavern, which is very conspicuous from our road, though inaccessible at this time of the year on account of the inundation. It is this cavern which gives the name of Taki to the inundation, from its arched form, the word being derived from the Persian tauk, an arch. The stream of the Taki has probably an outlet in the plain of *Asea*, the level of which seems to be between those of *Tegea* and *Megalopolis*. Having crossed the ridge of *Cresium*, we descend into the vale of the Saránda Potamó, a fine torrent running northward. It is joined by several streams from the steep sides of the great mountain which rises from the eastern side of the Tegeatic plain, and the snows of which are rapidly melting by the heat of this day's sun.

The part of this mountain which was crossed on the road from Tegea to Argos was called Parthenium. Its prolongation southward forms a continuous ridge with the mountains on the eastern side of Laconia. The Saránda Potamó disappears under the rocks to our right, near the place we first came upon it. From this pecu-

liarity it is evidently the *Alpheius*, for Pausanias[a] thus describes the road I am following: "On the road from Tegea into the Laconice, at the distance of two stades from the city, there is an altar of Pan on the left of the road, and another of Jupiter Lycæus; there are foundations also of the temples of those deities. Seven stades farther stands a temple of Diana Limnatis, with a statue of ebony, of the workmanship which the Greeks called Æginæan[b]. Ten stades from thence are the ruins of the temple of Diana Cnateatis[c]. The Alpheius forms the boundary between the Tegeatæ and Lacedæmonians: its source is at Phylace, not far from which a stream rising from many small fountains flows into it, and gives to the place of junction the name of Σύμβολα, or the Confluence. The Alpheius differs very much in its nature from other rivers, for it often hides itself and appears again. Flowing from Phylace and the Symbola, it descends into the earth in the Tegeatice, then rising again in the Asæa," &c.

Were it not for the announcement of the

[a] Pausan. Arcad. c. 53, 54.

[b] τρόπος τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ Αἰγιναῖος καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων.

[c] The text of Pausanias is defective in this passage. Sylburgius, in the words Ἀρτέμιδος Κνατειάτιδος, ἔστιν Ἀλεοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια, proposed to change Ἀλεοῦ to ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ, which is so much the more probable, as the distance of nineteen stades agrees very well with that of the river Saránda, from the site of Tegea.

road in the beginning of this passage, it might be doubtful which of the two subterraneous rivers of the Tegeatice (or rather of the southern part of the Tegeatice, for there is a third near the modern Persová, at the foot of Mount Parthenium) was the true Alpheius, but Pausanias was following the direct road to Sparta, which, from the nature of the country, could have been no other than the modern route from Tripolitzá to Mistrá; and he had already spoken, in his route from Megalopolis by Asea to Tegea, of the Manthuric plain, the waters of which flow into the mountain at the Taki, though he has not noticed that subterraneous discharge.

We follow up the ravine of the Saránda Potamó, closely confined between rocky hills, and frequently cross the river, till at 12.20 we arrive at a Khan which is named Krya Vrysis, cold spring, from a neighbouring copious source, the stream from which is joined by a river from the mountain to the eastward. The Krya Vrysis appears to be what Pausanias calls the source of the Alpheius, and the eastern branch that which he designates as originating in many small fountains. The confluence of the two was the Symbola. As Phylace was not far from the source of the Alpheius and the Symbola, it could not have been very distant from the modern Krya Vrysi, but I do not observe any re-

mains of antiquity. Phylace and the course of the eastern branch of the Alpheius, seem to have formed the frontier line of the Tegeatice and Laconice. Having halted ten minutes, we proceed along the ravine, with rocks on either side, but soon turn out of it to the east, and then, regaining the former direction, pass at 1.40 through a narrow strait called the Stenúri [a]. Vérvena [b], a village in the Vilayéti of Aios Pétros is seen on the left, in a lofty situation under Mount Málevo [c], as the highest part of this range is called. It is in the vicinity of Vérvena that the small streams have their origin, which unite to compose the eastern branch of the Alpheius. From the Stenúri we descend into a small plain, in which are many wild pear trees [d], and pass from thence through some narrow ravines and rocks, where two men could hardly march abreast, until, at 3.20, we arrive in the midst of this difficult country, at a Dervéni, or guard-house, from whence appears on the left, on the southern slope of Mount Málevo, the village of Arákhova [e], belonging to the Mistrá Kázasi, or Vilayéti of Mistrá.

[a] τὸ Στενούρι.

[b] Βέρβενα.

[c] This name, which like so many others in the Moréa is, as I have already hinted, of Slavonic origin, is applied also to a summit of the range of *Taygetum* northward of Mistrá, and sometimes to *Artemisium*.

[d] ἀχλάδια.

[e] Ἀράχοβα.

At 4 we arrive at the Khan of Krevatá, so called from a Greek family of Mistrá, one of whom built it; below it, on the east, is a little stream, and a few Kalambókki grounds: the waters flow to the *Eurotas*. We halt twenty minutes at the Khan, and then proceed over the same kind of mountains till 5, when, at the rise of one of them, the magnificent range of *Taygetum* presents itself to view, and Mistrá is seen on a steep height, under the middle of it. The view of the plain before Mistrá, in which Sparta was situated, is intercepted by the lower roots of the northern part of Taygetum. We continue descending the long slope of the Málevo range, enjoying occasionally a view of Mistrá, of Mount *Taygetum*, and of the continuation of that range to the northward of Mistrá, on the face of which are seen the large villages of Longástra, Bordhónia, and Ghiorghítza.

At 6.15 we enter the ravine of a winter torrent coming from the east, and at 6.20 cross the Kelafína, a wide, deep, and rapid stream, just above a small island; one of the loaded horses falls twice in the stream. Proceed along its left bank into the valley of the Iri, or *Eurotas*, cross that river at 6.35, and soon after enter among the roots of *Taygetum*, which, advancing to the eastward, terminate on the north side of *Sparta*, so nearly meeting the opposite

range, of which we have been following the slopes, as to leave only a space for a narrow valley, in which the Kelafína joins the Iri, just above the site of *Sparta*. After passing for a short distance through the hills, we re-enter the plain, and arrive at Mistrá at 7.35. The last hour and a half has not been performed at so quick a rate as the rest. The whole distance from Tripolitzá is about forty-two miles by the road. The vóivoda assigns me a lodging at the metropolitan bishop's.

March 18th. Mistrá and Argos being an appanage of the sultan's sister [a], are under a vóivoda sent from Constantinople, who accounts to the sultan for the revenue of the district, and is local governor, subject to the general government of the pashá. He has two Greek assessors, who arrange all details of the collection. The person at present residing here, is only Vekíl, or deputy of the sultana's chief agent, who is shortly expected from Constantinople. I visit this morning the acting vóivoda and the kadí. The latter says, "the people here like me so well, that they are going to build me a new house, and I shall therefore remain with them." It seems they have lately built one for the vóivoda, and that the kadí's speech was directed to a Greek, who, as being

[a] Sálona is another of the same sultana's appanages.

agent of the English consul at Patra, had accompanied me in the visit, and who being also one of the chiefs of the Greek community, might have great influence in promoting the kadí's wish for a new house.

I ride up to the Castle of Mistrá, and pass the rest of the morning at that important geographical station. The castle seems never to have been very formidably fortified, though it is strong by its position and great height; it is about five hundred feet above the level of the plain; the hill on three sides is extremely steep; on the fourth, or southern side, it is perpendicular, and separated from another similar rock by the torrent Pandeleímona, so called from a monastery τοῦ Παντελεήμονος towards its sources. This stream divides the town into two parts, tumbling over a rocky bed, like the *Hercina* at Livadhía; a little below the town it joins another rivulet which rises to the northward, near the village of Várssova: the united stream joins the *Eurotas*, to the southward of *Sparta*. There are still the remains of some fine cisterns in the castle. The view from thence is of the utmost beauty and interest; the mountains to the north, east, and south, are spread before the spectator from *Artemisium*, on the confines of *Argolis* and *Arcadia*, to the island of *Cythera* inclusive, together with a small part of the *Laconic* gulf,

just within that island. All the plain of *Sparta* is in view, except the south-west corner near Bardhúnia, which is concealed by a projection of Mount *Taygetum*. Towards the mountain the scene is equally grand, though of a different nature. A lofty summit of Taygetum, immediately behind the castle, three or four miles distant, is clothed with a forest of firs, and now deeply covered with snow; the nearer slopes of the mountain are variegated with the vineyards, corn-fields, and olive plantations belonging to the villages of Barsiníko, and Vlakhokhóri [a], situated on opposite sides of the ravine of the Pandeleímona, which winds from the southward in the direction of the highest summit of Taygetum. This remarkable peak is not much inferior in height to 'Olono, or any of the highest points of the Peloponnesus, and is more conspicuous than any, from its abrupt sharpness. I cannot learn at Mistrá any modern name for it, except the very common one of Ai Eliá, or Saint Elias, who, like Apollo of old, seems to delight in the protection of lofty summits.

A cultivated tract of country, similar to that about Barseníko and Vlakhokhóri, occupies the middle region of Taygetum through its whole length; it is concealed from the great plain by a chain of rocky heights which immediately

[a] Μπαρσινήκον, Βλαχοχώρι.

overhang the plain, and of which the Castle-hill of Mistrá is one. Like that hill they terminate in steep slopes or in abrupt precipices, some of which are almost twice as high as the Castle of Mistrá, though they appear insignificant when compared with the snowy peaks of Taygetum behind them. They are intersected and separated from one another by the rocky gorges of several torrents which have their origin in the great summits, and which, after crossing the upper cultivated region, issue through those gorges into the plain, and then traversing its whole breadth join the Eurotas flowing under the eastern hills. This abrupt termination of Taygetum, extending all the way from the Castle of Mistrá, inclusive, to the extremity of the plain, forms the chief peculiarity in the scenery of Sparta and its vicinity. Whether seen in profile, contrasted with the richness of the plain, or in front with the majestic summits of Taygetum rising above it, this long gigantic bank presents a variety of the sublimest and most beautiful scenery, such as we hardly find equalled in any part of picturesque Greece itself.

One of the most delightful spots in this scene is the village of Perórí, a little to the southward of Mistrá, where the mosque and houses interspersed amidst gardens are traversed by a rapid stream like the Pandeleímona, which issues from

a stupendous rocky opening behind the village. It would seem, that in the time of Coronelli this village was connected with Mistrá, and formed a part of the southern quarter then called Exokhóri.

The southern part of the town is still named Misokhóri; the part occupied by the Metrópoli, under which name the cathedral and bishop's house are comprised, is Katokhóri: the houses are so much dispersed, that the town occupies a mile and a half along the foot of the hill, though there are not altogether more than 1000 houses, of which about a fourth are Turkish. Katokhóri alone, together with another quarter now deserted, called Kastro, on the north-eastern side of the castle above Katokhóri, once contained an equal number, but they were destroyed during the insurrection of 1770, or after that event, and their ruins only are now left, occupying a space equal to that of the present inhabited town. When the Albanian army was destroyed or driven out of the Peninsula, there still remained the old Albanian colony of Bardhúnia, the Maniátes, and the hungry Pashás of the Moréa, to plunder Mistrá in succession; and it was not until the Turkish fleet had reduced Mani to terms, that the Porte had the power of affording the place any protection. The remains of the house of Krçvatá, once the richest family in the Moréa, but which is now extinct, in con-

sequence of having been tempted by the Russians to engage in the insurrection, are seen in Katokhóri, between the Metrópoli and the river Pandeleímona. The Krevatá, who joined the insurrection, fled into Mani on its failure, and died there.

March 19.—I visit some of the chief Greeks, in company with the English agent. There are still some men of property both landed and commercial, and the place is at length recovering from the effects of the Russian insurrection; new buildings are rising in many parts of the town. Before the year 1770, Mistrá often exported 50,000 okes of silk per annum; the export now amounts, in good years, to half that quantity, sent to Mothóni for Tunis, to Patra for Europe, or to Anápli for Khió[a] and Constantinople. The olive plantations around the town of Mistrá alone produce, in good years, 50,000 barrels of oil of forty-eight okes, of which from 5000 to 10,000 are exported; the rest is consumed in the Moréa. The oil is said by the Mistriotes to be the best in the Peninsula; I saw some quite colourless: the merchants buy it from the planters at forty to fifty-five paras the Botza of twenty okes. In the alternate years, when the olive crop is generally deficient, the price is

[a] Chius.

higher. A new tax of a para an oke has lately been laid upon oil. Every large house has a cistern attached to it for holding the oil, where it is kept until sold. Velanídhi[a] and prinokókki[b] are gathered in large quantities on Mount *Taygetum;* the former is found entirely within the government of the Bey of Mani, and he enjoys a monopoly of it. The prinokókki is purchased from the peasants at fifteen to twenty piastres the oke, and is shipped at Marathónisi for Tunis and Leghorn; at Tunis it is chiefly used in dyeing the Feshes, or red skull caps, which in every part of Turkey are worn under the turban, or head shawl. The other productions of the Mistrá Kázasi are similar to those of the other parts of the Peninsula. The Greeks complain of the weight of the kharatj, or capitation, and of the avarísi, or tax on moveable property; both of which being exacted as if there were 8500 persons liable to them, whereas there are only 3000, each person pays in the proportion of $2\frac{5}{6}$ths. Mr. V. D. our agent, tells me that he pays 500 piastres

[a] *Italicè,* Vallonéa. Βελανίδι, from Βάλανος, the acorn of the quercus ægilops, a powerful astringent, used in tanning and dyeing.

[b] *Italicè,* Vermiglio. Πρινοκόκκι, sometimes pronounced Πιρνο- or Πουρνο-κοκκη, or -κουκι, is the kermes, or red dye gathered from the holly-leaved oak, (quercus coccifera.)

a-year for imposts of all kinds. He was lately subjected to an avania of 1000 piastres, the Pashá having been informed that he was shipping grain at Marathonísi contrary to the order of the Porte, which itself monopolizes the grain of this district. According to a recent firmahn, the Greeks of Mistrá are allowed to repair their churches on condition of paying 300 piastres for each to a mosque at Constantinople.

March 20.—Having heard of some antiquities at Sklavokhóri, which the learned of Mistrá consider the site of the ancient Amyclæ, I set out for that place at 9.25. At 9.40 pass Perórí, and at 10 ride through Aianni[a], which, like Perórí, has a picturesque mosque, a fine stream running through it, and some good gardens. It stands nearer to the precipices than Perórí, and the river does not come through an opening in the rocks from the upper *Taygetum*, but rises in the village itself. At $10\frac{1}{2}$ cross another stream which flows through a rocky gorge from the elevated hollow included between the summits of Taygetum and the heights which border the plain. At 11.10 cross another rivulet flowing from another opening in the precipitous heights; and at 11.20 arrive in the village of Sklavokhóri, which is situated half a mile from

[a] St. John.

the foot of the mountain midway between two openings.

Eight or nine ruined churches shew the former importance of Sklavokhóri; of houses there are not at present more than thirty, much dispersed. In a church dedicated to the sleep (i. e. the death) of the Virgin [a], I find three columns with Doric capitals, one of which is of grey granite; one of the capitals is of the spreading kind, with an echinus forming a very acute angle with the plinth, like the Doric capitals of Sicily and Pæstum,—those of the others are much more obtuse; on the outside of the church there is a broken column with an inscription. In other chapels I find some Ionic capitals of white marble, and some fragments of inscriptions, one of which contains the letters AMYKA, which seem to have belonged to the word Amyclæ, though I do not think the position of Sklavokhóri will agree with the idea given of that of Amyclæ by Polybius and Pausanias, according to whom that place was much nearer to the Eurotas and to Sparta. A chapel of St. Elias contains two curious marbles [b], representing in relief, in a hollow compartment, various articles of female apparel and ornament; slip-

[a] ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας.

[b] For a particular description of these marbles by the Earl of Aberdeen, see the Memoirs on Greece, edited by the Rev. R. Walpole.

pers, bonnets, combs, mirrors, &c. In the centre of each there is an inscription, as follows:

ΑΝΘΟΥCΗ
ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ
ΥΠΟCΤΑΤΡΙΑ

The forms of the characters in the first inscription would seem to indicate a greater antiquity than those in the latter, which is confirmed by the dialectic difference between them. Mr. V. D. has constructed a car, for the purpose of conveying this stone to the coast, for Lord A. Mistrá is the only place I have yet seen in Greece where cars are used; they serve chiefly for transporting the barrels of oil. They are merely a rough frame-work upon two solid trucks, and closely resemble those in use in several of the plains of Asia Minor.

From Sklavokhóri I ride to Aia Kyriakí, St. Sunday, a church standing on a height half a mile from the *Eurotas*, nearly in the centre of the plain as to its length. I here perceive that the heights, at the north-eastern extremity of the plain upon which Sparta stood, are a part of a chain of low hills following the course of the Eurotas through the whole length of the plain of Mistrá, and separating the latter from the lower level of the vale of the Eurotas, leaving openings only for the streams which descend

from Mount Taygetum into the Eurotas. Aia Kyriakí and another summit farther south are the only eminences of any considerable height in this little chain, which is not readily distinguishable from the opposite side of the plain.

Nothing is now to be seen at Aia Kyriakí but two imperfect inscriptions, in one of which are the letters AMY following the name ΔΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ and leaving little doubt, that the incomplete word was AMYΚΛΑΙΟΥ. As far as this evidence goes, therefore, St. Kyriakí has as good pretensions to be considered the site of Amyclæ as Sklavokhóri. The numerous churches still existing at the latter place either entire or in ruins, shew that it was once a Christian town of considerable importance, and its name appears to indicate that it was the principal settlement of the Slavonic colonists of the *Laconice* in the middle ages[a]; it is very probable, therefore, that at the time when Sklavokhóri was populous, the fragments of antiquity now found in the churches were brought thither from Sparta, or the other ancient sites in the neighbourhood; for although the modern Greek masons are great destroyers of the remains of

[a] Names of Slavonic origin are as numerous around Mistrá as in any part of the Moréa; as Vársova (Warsaw), Bílova, Sélitza, Arákhova, Vréstena, Tzítzena, Polovítza, &c.

antiquity, the more lettered classes, who have some respect for the ancient fame of the nation, are in the habit of preserving inscribed or sculptured stones by depositing them in the churches or private houses.

Aia Kyriakí commands a fine view of the plain and surrounding heights. From near the opposite side of the *Eurotas*, rises a steep bank surmounted at the height of 500 or 600 feet by a plain or table-land, beyond which there is an uneven country, intersected with ravines and rivers, which rises gradually to Mount *Parnon* and the other great summits of the eastern range; it contains large tracts of cultivated land and many villages, of which I had a good view from the castle of Mistrá. This steep bank or bluff termination of the eastern range above the left bank of the Eurotas is another remarkable feature in the scenery of the country around Sparta; though inferior in height to some of the magnificent precipices which form a similar termination of Mount Taygetum, it shews, when taken together with them, the propriety of the term κοίλη Λακεδαίμων applied by Homer to the plain of Sparta, and to the city itself, which is well described also by Strabo as situated ἐν κοιλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ. In most parts there is a level space between the great eastern bank and the Eurotas, but in one spot, a little south

of the southern extremity of Sparta, it is washed by the river. It was upon this part of the height that stood the suburb of Sparta called Menelaium.

The situation as well of Amyclæ and Menelaium as of Sparta itself, is nowhere so well described as in the narrative by Polybius[a] of the expedition of Philip, son of Demetrius, in conjunction with Aratus and the Achaians, against Sparta in the Social War, B. C. 218. Philip having overrun Ætolia, and retaliated upon its capital, Thermus, for the barbarous hostilities of the Ætolians against Dium and Dodona, moved at first northward to the extremity of the Ambracian Gulf, from whence he sailed in the course of a night to Leucas. From Leucas he sailed to Corinth; whence, after despatching messengers to summon his Peloponnesian allies to meet him with their forces at Tegea, he marched on the first day to Argos, and on the second to Tegea, where he was joined by Aratus and the Achaian troops. From Tegea he made a circuitous march through the mountains on the north-east of Laconia, and on the fourth day from Corinth and the seventh from Ætolia, suddenly made his appearance, to the astonished Spartans, on the hills which overlook their city. Leaving Mount Menelaium on his right hand,

[a] Polyb. l. v. c. 16, et seq.

he moved forwards, and encamped at Amyclæ. "Amyclæ", adds the historian, "is a place in the Laconice, remarkable for the abundance of its trees and its fertility [a]; it is distant about twenty stades from Lacedæmon on the side towards the sea." Philip then proceeded to overrun the whole country to the southward, penetrating even as far as the extreme points of Asine, Tænarus, and Bœæ, from which last he returned to Amyclæ. Lycurgus, the king of Sparta, had meantime obtained an advantage over the Messenians, who, unable to reach Tegea before the king had passed through that place, had endeavoured to join him by marching through the Argeia into the Laconice, when, having been suddenly attacked by Lycurgus at the Glympeis [b], on the frontier of the two provinces, they fled with the loss of their baggage, and retired home again through the country of Argos. Lycurgus, on his return from this excursion, occupied Menelaium and its vicinity with 2000 men, and gave orders to the remaining forces in the city to be ready upon a given signal, to march out and draw up along the bank of the Eurotas, in the narrow space between the river and the city. Polybius then describes the situation of Sparta as follows: "Although Sparta," he says, "con-

[a] καλλιδενδρότατος καὶ καλλικαρπότατος. [b] Γλυμπεῖς.

sidered in its general appearance [a], is of a circular form, and situated in a plain, yet within it contains several rising grounds and hills [b]. On the eastern side [c] flows the Eurotas, which for the greater part of the year is so large as not to be fordable. To the south-east of the city [d] are the hills upon which stands Menelaium. They are rough, lofty, and difficult of ascent, and they command entirely all the ground between the river and the city; for the river takes its course along the very border of these heights, and the whole space from the foot of the hills to Sparta does not exceed a stade and a half in breadth. Such was the defile along which Philip, as he returned (northward), must be forced to pass, having on his left hand the city. The Lacedæmonians had moreover, by diverting the river above the straits, inundated the ground between the city and the hills, with the view that neither the cavalry nor infantry of the enemy should find a secure footing there, but that being obliged to march close under the mountain in a long file, and unable to afford each other assistance, they should thus be exposed to the Lacedæmonians. Philip, upon perceiving this arrangement, de-

[a] τῷ καθόλου σχήματι.
[b] ἀνωμάλους καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους.
[c] πρὸς ἀνατολάς.
[d] τῆς πόλεως κατὰ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς.

termined upon driving Lycurgus from Menelaium, for which purpose, taking with him the mercenaries, the peltastæ, and the Illyrians, he crossed the river (from Amyclæ). Lycurgus prepared to receive him (on Menelaium), and at the same time sent orders to his forces in the city to be ready on seeing the signal to march out, and deploy under the walls with the cavalry on the right. The success of Philip was complete; he killed 100 of the enemy, and forced all the remainder to take refuge in the city, except a small number in company with Lycurgus, who, after a circuitous route, entered Sparta in the following night. Philip then left his Illyrians in possession of the heights of Menelaium, and was returning to his camp with the light-armed[a] and peltastæ, when Aratus having in the mean time advanced from Amyclæ with the phalanx (along the left bank of the river) nearly to the city, Philip crossed to the right bank with the light-armed, the peltastæ, and cavalry, to observe the enemy, and effect a diversion until the phalanx should have passed through the defile (at the foot of Menelaium). An action took place, the peltastæ particularly distinguished themselves, and the Lacedæmonian horse was driven back to the gates: after

[a] εὐζώνους.

which, Philip recrossed the Eurotas without impediment, and covered the rear-guard of the phalanx. Night then coming on, he halted near the (northern) opening of the pass[a]. No position (observes Polybius) could be more advantageous than this for a hostile attempt against Laconia from Tegea, or from any other part of the interior of Peloponnesus; for it is not only the key of the passes leading into Laconia, but, though situated close to the river, and only two stades distant from the city, it is well protected on that side by an inaccessible mountain, above which there is a level, fertile, and well watered country, affording great facilities to an army either for access or retreat. Philip, however, declined remaining here: but next day, after sending forward his baggage, he drew out his army in the plain, and having remained a short time in sight of the city, then moved by his right[b] towards Sellasia. Here he halted for the night, and the next morning, after having viewed the scene of action at Sellasia between the hills Eva and Olympus, where Cleomenes and Antigonus had fought, he proceeded towards Tegea, taking care to have a strong rear-guard. At Tegea he ordered the plunder from Laconia to be sold, and then returned through Argos to Corinth."

[a] περὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν ἔξοδον. [b] κλίναις ἐπὶ χέρας.

From this narrative of Polybius it clearly appears, that Amyclæ stood about two miles and a half from Sparta, near the right bank of the Eurotas, a situation in perfect agreement with what Xenophon[a] says of Amyclæ in describing the invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, on that memorable occasion when Agesilaus lived to see his former proud saying confuted, that no Spartan woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's fire[b]. In this instance, the Thebans and their Peloponnesian allies descended from Sellasia into the plain immediately opposite to Sparta (the same narrow level on the left bank of the Eurotas in which Philip drew out his army as a challenge to the Lacedæmonians before he retired). Epaminondas perceiving a large body of the enemy at the Sanctuary of Minerva Alea on the opposite side of the Eurotas, did not pass over the bridge, but withdrawing his forces marched forward with the river on his right hand, burning and destroying, until he arrived near Amyclæ, when he crossed the river, and encamped. Here the Thebans strengthened their position by felling trees and laying them before their ranks, a precaution which their Arcadian allies neglected. On the third or fourth day all the cavalry ad-

[a] Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. 5.

[b] ὅτι γυνὴ Λάκαινα καπνὸν οὐκ ἑώρακε πολέμιον. Plutarch in Agesil.

vanced to the Hippodrome and Temple of Neptune Gæauchus, where they were met by the Lacedæmonian horse supported by 300 infantry, who had been placed in a concealed position at the sanctuary of the Tyndaridæ. The manœuvre was successful, and the Thebans were forced to retreat to their camp. From thence they undertook a march of spoliation against Helos and Gythium, soon after which a movement of the Athenians in aid of the Lacedæmonians, the defection of some of the allies, a want of provisions, and the approach of winter, obliged Epaminondas to retire out of Laconia."

I think it must be evident from these two extracts, that Amyclæ was not far from Aia Kyriakí. That hill indeed is more distant from what appears to have been the southern extremity of Sparta than the words of Polybius warrant; but as we find that there were some buildings or other places to the south of Sparta which must have occupied a considerable space of ground, such as the Hippodrome, the Phœbæum, and the temples of Gæauchus and the Tyndaridæ; and on the other hand, as Amyclæ seems, from the description of it by Polybius, to have been dispersed among gardens and plantations, it may easily be conceived that, at the time treated of by Polybius, the distance between the nearest points of the southern suburb

of Sparta and of Amyclæ may not have been greater than two miles and a half. I think, therefore, that notwithstanding its distance, the hill of Aia Kyriakí, being such a commanding position as the early Greeks usually chose for their towns, may have been the site of the more ancient Amyclæ, which, though it became a mere dependency of Sparta in after ages, was one of the cities of the Laconice at the time of the Trojan war, and until the Doric conquest.

Pausanias[a] describes Amyclæ as a κώμη, or small town. He adds, that the Tiasa, so called from a daughter of Eurotas, flowed between Sparta and Amyclæ. Midway between the southern extremity of the site of Sparta and Aia Kyriakí, a river formed from the junction of the streams of Mistrá, Perórí, Ai Ianni, and another, falls into the Eurotas, and not only corresponds perfectly to the Tiasa of Pausanias, but explains also the cause of that fertility and luxuriance of vegetation about Amyclæ which Polybius has noticed.

Polybius[b] describes the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ as not inferior in celebrity to any in Laconia[c]. On the way thither from Sparta, Pausanias[d] observed, on the bank of the Tiasa, a

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 19.
[b] Polyb. l. v. c. 19.
[c] τέμενος . . . . σχεδὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ.
[d] Pausan. Lacon. c. 18.

temple of the Graces, named Phaenna and Cleta. At Amyclæ, near the temple of Apollo, there was a figure, upon a pillar, of Ænetus, who died in the moment of being crowned for a pentathlic victory at Olympia, and five brazen tripods, of which the three most ancient were said to have been dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of Messenia; the others, which were of larger size, from those of the victory at Ægospotami. To the lower part of each tripod [a] was affixed a statue. Two of the ancient tripods, with the statues of Venus and Diana attached to them, were the work of Gitiadas; the third, with the statue of Proserpine, was by Callon of Ægina. On the fourth tripod was represented Sparta with a lyre in her hand, by Aristandrus. On the fifth was a Venus, by Polycleitus. The statue of Apollo Amyclæus was a work of the rudest and most ancient kind, and resembled, with the exception of the face, hands, and feet, a column of brass [b] between forty and fifty feet high. It had a helmet on the head, and in the hands a spear and a bow. The pedestal of the statue was formed like an altar [c], and was supposed to be the tomb of Hyacinthus; both this and the

[a] ὑπὸ τῷ τρίποδι—the statue probably formed one of the legs.

[b] κίονι χαλκῷ.

[c] βάθρον παρέχεται βωμοῦ σχῆμα.

throne[a] were adorned with a profusion of works in relief, but the latter was by far the more remarkable monument, and was the work of Bathycles, who had himself dedicated two statues of Graces in the temple, and another of Diana Leucophryene, the patroness of his native city, Magnesia on the Mæander. Besides the temple of Apollo, Amyclæ contained a temple of Alexandra, daughter of Priam, in which were statues of Alexandra, of Clytæmnestra, and of Agamemnon.

At Aia Kyriakí I met with a peasant[b] of Riviótissa, a small village in the plain, who gave me the following information. The reputed owner of the land which he cultivates as zevgalátes[c], or metayer, is Stathí, Protosýngelo[d] of the bishoprick, who resides at the Metrópoli as one of the bishop's officers. Out of a crop of twenty-one kilos, he pays three to the vóivoda for dhekatía, six to Stathí for rent, and reserves the rest to himself; he is at all the expense of stock and labour: the same manner of farming the land occurs in the culture of every kind of

[a] The throne of Amyclæ, which seems to have been one of the most elaborate works in Greece, has been a subject of particular investigation by Heyne, and more recently by M. Quatremère de Quincy in his work called *Le Jupiter Olympien*.

[b] χωριάτης. [c] ζευγαλάτης. [d] πρωτοσύγκελλος.

grain, whether wheat[a], barley[b], maize[c], or spring wheat (dhiminió[d]). The greater part of the land on the banks of the Eurotas is cultivated in dhiminió, for which they are now ploughing and sowing; it is watered artificially by canals from the Eurotas, or by means of the streams which descend from Mount Taygetum. Wheat, in the common way, is sown in November and December. In the Kefalokhória in the mountains near the sources of the streams, the dhiminió ripens without irrigation on account of the coolness of the climate, the greater quantity of rain in summer, and the superior quality of the land, but of course it is not reaped so early as in the plain; there also they have spring barley[e], which they have not in the plain. The soil of the plain is described to me, as being in general a poor mixture of white clay and stones, difficult to plough, and better suited to olives than corn; and such it appeared to me, except near Mistrá and on the banks of the Eurotas. Thus it answers exactly to the words of Euripides[f], who, contrasting Laconia with Messenia, describes the former as a poor land[g] in

[a] σιτάρι. [b] χριθάρι. [c] καλαμπόκκι. [d] διμηνιὸν, corn of two months. [e] χριθάρι διμηνιὸν. [f] Ap. Strabon. p. 336. [g] φαύλου χθονὸς.

which there is much arable, but difficult to work[a]. The women of Mistrá and the plain are taller and more robust than the other Greeks, have more colour in general, and look healthier; which agrees also with Homer's *Λακεδαίμονα καλλιγύναικα.*

[a] Πολλὴν μὲν ἀροτὸν, ἐκπονεῖν δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον.

CHAPTER V.

LÀCONIA.

SPARTA.—THERAPNE.—BRYSEÆ.

March 21.—Set out at 7.55 for *Sparta*, riding directly down the hill from the Metrópoli to the left bank of the river of Pandeleímona. At 8.8 begin to follow its left bank; at 8.10 the road to Longástra turns off to the left; at 8.15 join the Tripolitzá road; at 8.22 cross the stream from Vársova and Kyparíssia, where it joins the former; at 8.25 leave the Tripolitzá road to the left; at 8.38 cross a bridge over the river of Trýpi. Half a mile below the bridge stands a church of St. Irene, in the wall of which there is the trunk of a statue, and within the church an inscription in honour of a pancratiast. Near it is a ruined casino of Krevatá. At the bridge, where I halted five minutes, I was overtaken by the vóivoda, going to keep order at the paneghýri, or fair, which is held to-day at Magúla, as the ruins of Sparta are called. He tells me that last year two boys were murdered at this bridge by drunken Turks returning from the fair.

At 9 I arrive at the aqueduct of Sparta, where

a road towards Tzakoniá turns off to the left. The remains of the aqueduct are traced across the valley which separates the heights of Sparta from the branch, or long counterfort, of Mount Taygetum, which I mentioned in our approach to Mistrá; a small rivulet from an opening in the mountain flows along the valley into the Eurotas: the aqueduct is again traceable farther up the valley; it appears to be contemporary with the walls which inclose the largest of the heights upon which Sparta stood. There is another monument, apparently of the same date as the walls and aqueduct on the slope towards the Eurotas. This is a circus, the smallest perhaps in existence, being only twenty-three yards in diameter within. But when Sparta was reduced to the hill which is now surrounded with the Roman wall, this circus may have been quite large enough for the diminished population. The wall of the circus is sixteen feet thick, and was supported by large buttresses on the outside at small distances from one another, a construction which seems to have been intended for a considerable height of wall, as well as for a great weight within, though not a vestige of seats is now to be seen. The entrance to the circus was on the side towards the river. Below the circus are some remains of a bridge over the Eurotas.

The hills alluded to by Polybius, upon which Sparta was built, formed towards the Eurotas an irregular line of a mile and a half from the valley on the north, which separated them from the above-mentioned branch of Taygetum, to the south-eastern extremity of the site where the Eurotas is joined by a brisk little stream, which is now called Trypiótiko, from its origin near Trýpi[a], a large village in the Taygetan range, to the northward of Mistrá. These hills present a very varied outline from the river, and are divided into four separate heights. First, beginning from the north, there is a small insulated hill with a flat summit, as high, if not higher, than any other part of the site; it stands between the north-east end of the large height and the junction of the northern rivulet with the Eurotas. Secondly, the principal height; it is entirely surrounded with the ruins of Roman walls, except the western extremity, which is occupied by the theatre; at the opposite or eastern extremity of this height, stands the ruined circus, at about one-third of the distance from the northern rivulet to the southern, or Trypiótiko. This largest hill of Sparta has a very broken outline and several summits, but the basis of them all is an irregular level, which is elevated forty or fifty feet above the marshy plain on the side of

[a] Τρύπη, cavern.

the Eurotas, and presents a bank of that elevation towards the river. The third and fourth of the Spartan hills lie between the circus and the village of Psykhikó, which stands at the foot of the last height on the south side, and not very far from the Trypiótiko. These two summits rest on the same table-land already mentioned; for the last half mile, towards the junction of the Trypiótiko, they terminate north-eastward, in a precipice of about thirty feet high. In consequence of the difference of level between the *plateau* of Sparta, upon which the several summits just mentioned are based, and the plain on the bank of the Eurotas, as well as by means of a general slope towards the west and south, the hills of Sparta present a higher profile towards the river than in any other direction. The level between the heights and the Eurotas is narrowest at the south-eastern extremity of the site, where it is about fifty yards wide; it is narrowed also, though not so much, below the circus, above and below which it swells into a plain of a quarter of a mile in breadth, inclosed between the hills and the right bank of the river.

The only villages on the site of Sparta are Magúla and Psykhikó[a]. Magúla is a tjiftlik belonging to a Turk of Mistrá, and contains a small pyrgo, with three or four huts situated

[a] Μαγούλα, Ψυχικόν.

amidst gardens. Magúla is a Greek name often applied to a height with ruins, especially when they are in a plain: it is hence given generally to the site of Sparta, though specifically to the tjiftlik. Psykhikó has fourteen or fifteen cottages, including a kalývia or dependent hamlet, which is situated about 300 yards to the north-eastward of Psykhikó, on the edge of the cliff just mentioned, immediately above a source of water, which, issuing from under the cliff, follows its foot for some distance, and then crosses the level and joins the Eurotas about 300 yards above the junction of the Trypiótiko. Thus, above that junction there is a low meadow surrounded on three sides by a running stream, and on the fourth by the cliffs at the south-eastern extremity of the table-land of Sparta. The inclosed space is planted with mulberries, growing among fields of dhiminió, or spring corn. This is probably the position of the Platanistas, which both Pausanias and Lucian [a] describe as a place surrounded by water. All the level parts of the site of Sparta are cultivated with corn.

The only considerable relics of Hellenic workmanship are, 1. The theatre, the remains of which are daily decreasing, as it serves for a stone quarry to Mistrá and the surrounding

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 14. Lucian, Anachars. c. 38.

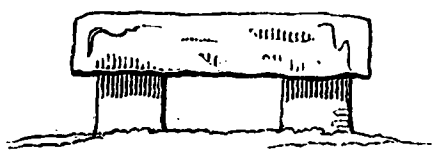
country. In the cavea I perceived only a few fragments of seats; but the enormous masses of masonry which supported the two extremities of the cavea still subsist; they are built of quadrangular stones, which are not so large as those usually employed by the Greeks in similar constructions, and seem to indicate, that although the theatre may have existed from an early period, the exterior work now apparent is not older than the Roman empire. That the Spartans had a theatre from early times, there is no doubt, not for dramatic exhibitions, which were forbidden by the Lycurgan institutions [a], but for gymnastic exercises and public assemblies [b]. Under such circumstances, a *scene* like that of the theatre of Athens would hardly be wanted, and accordingly the remains of the scene of the theatre of Sparta are chiefly of brick, and seem to show that it was an addition of Roman times. The centre of the building was excavated in the hill, but the ground affords little advantage compared with what occurred in some other Greek theatres, and the wings of the cavea were entirely artificial from the foundation to the very summit of the theatre. The interior diameter, or length of the orchestra, it is impossible to ascertain without excavation; the breadth of

[a] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon. Plutarch, in Agesil.—Lucian, Anachars. c. 38.

[b] Herodot. lib. vi. c. 67.—

each wing appears to have been about 115 feet; the total diameter about 450 feet, which was probably greater than the diameter of any theatre in Greece Proper, except that of Athens, unless it shall be found that Pausanias is correct in saying that the theatre of Megalopolis was the greatest in Greece. In front of the theatre, and not far from it, there is a sepulchral chamber carefully constructed of large quadrangular stones.

2. A little more than half way from the theatre to the Circus, I found two opposite doors, each formed of three stones, and buried almost to the soffit, thus,



On one side of these doors there is some appearance of seats, as if the building had been a place of public assembly; I found also a fragment of the drapery of a statue of white marble, executed in a manner which modern artists cannot, or at least do not imitate.

3. Four other doors constructed like the two just mentioned, and buried in the ground to a similar height. They are found standing in a line in the middle of a corn field, in the way

from the theatre to the junction of the Trypiótiko and *Eurotas*. Here are some foundations also of a wall of later construction.

4. In the modern road from Magúla and Psykhikó towards Sklavokhóri, there is an ancient bridge over the Trypiótiko, which is still in use. Its arch has a rise of about one-third of the span, and is constructed of large single blocks of stone, reaching from side to side: a part of the ancient causeway remains at either end of the bridge, of the same solid construction. A quarter of a mile beyond the bridge to the south-west, is the little village of Kalagoniá[a].

Every part of the site of Sparta is covered with fragments of wrought stones, among which, especially near the ruin 3, are found pieces of Doric columns of white marble, together with other fragments of architecture of different orders and dimensions. Similar remains have formed the principal materials of the Roman walls, now almost entirely ruined, which surround the principal height. The depth, in the ground, of the door frames in ruins 2 and 3, shew the height to which the ruins of the city have raised the present above the ancient surface, and leave great reason to believe that some of the works of art existing in the time of Pausanias may be found amidst the accumulated

[a] Καλαγωνιὰ.

soil, whenever a complete search can be made with safety. Meantime the large supply of building materials which exists above ground in the ruined walls of the citadel, and particularly in the vast mass of the theatre, may long serve as a protection from the hands of the masons[a] to what may remain below the surface. It is not only by carrying away the wrought stones of the ancient buildings that those persons destroy the remains of antiquity in every part of Greece, but they often break the large wrought masses into smaller pieces, rather than resort to the natural quarry, if the ancient site happens to be nearer, or otherwise more conveniently situated for moving the materials.

Those whose only idea of the Spartans, is that of a people inimical to the elegant arts, as connected with luxury, may not expect to find many valuable monuments of art among the remains of their capital. But, in fact, the institutions of Lycurgus, which formed the Spartan discipline, had already ceased to have their entire effect, before the arts attained their acme in Greece; it is evident, moreover, from the remote date of some of the monuments of Sparta described by Pausanias and other authors, that in every age those religious feelings which were founded on the common belief and customs of all Greece,

[a] οἱ μάστορες.

and which were gratified by the dedication of splendid edifices and works of sculpture, were as strong at Sparta as in any part of the country. Without a firm basis of religion, or superstition, the Lycurgan discipline could not have long endured. Artists, therefore, though not enjoying at Sparta all the benefits of that passion for the decoration of their city which distinguished the Athenians, could never have been without encouragement, and they would be equally inspired by that consciousness that they were forming a dedication to the gods and an object of adoration, which was, perhaps, the chief cause of the excellence of the Greeks in sculpture, as it may have been of the painters of Europe after the revival of the arts.

It is a remark of Thucydides[a] that, "If Lacedæmon were demolished, and nothing remained but its sacred buildings and foundations, men of a distant age would find a difficulty in believing the existence of its former power, or that it had possessed two of the five divisions of Peloponnesus, or that it had commanded the whole country, as well as many allies beyond the Peninsula,—so inferior was the appearance of the city to its fame, being neither adorned with temples and splendid edifices, nor built in contiguity, but in separate quarters, in the ancient

[a] Thucyd. L. 1. c. 10.

method. Whereas, if Athens," adds the historian, "were reduced to a similar state, it would be supposed that her power had been twice as great as the reality." The arts of architecture and sculpture, however, received a great developement in Greece from increasing riches and emulation after the time of Thucydides, the monuments multiplied more rapidly than in earlier ages, and Sparta, relaxing in the severity of its manners, partook in the general taste. There seems no reason, therefore, to suppose that the site of Sparta, favourable by its own peculiarities to the preservation of remains of antiquity, would be a more unpromising field for research than at least the second-rate cities of Greece, especially as it appears from Pausanias to have preserved its monuments at the end of the second century of our æra, in a more entire and uninjured state than almost any city except Athens.

Before I attempt to render intelligible any observations on the ancient topography of the city, I shall give an abstract of the description of Sparta by Pausanias[a]; in which, by attempting a division of it under several heads, we shall be enabled perhaps to discover a greater degree of method in his description, than is at first apparent. 1st. The first place he notices is the Agora. Here

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 11. et seq.

were the council-house of the elders (senate)[a] and the offices[b] of the Ephori, Nomophylaces, and Bidiæi. The most remarkable building was the Persian Stoa, first erected from the spoils of the Medes, and afterwards enlarged and decorated: on the columns[c] were figures of Persians in white marble, and among them that of Mardonius; also that of Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus. The Agora contained likewise temples of Julius Cæsar, and of Augustus; in the latter there was a brazen statue of Agias, a Spartan prophet. In the place called Chorus were statues of Apollo Pythaeus, Diana, and Latona, and near it were temples of Earth, of Jupiter Agoræus, of Minerva Agoræa, of Apollo, of Juno, and of Neptune Asphalius. There was a colossal statue in the Agora representing the people of Sparta, and a temple of the Fates[d], adjacent to which was the tomb of Orestes, and near the latter a statue of Polydorus, with statues of Jupiter Xenius and Minerva Xenia. There was also a Hermes Agoræus bearing Bacchus as a child, and the old Ephoreia, a build-

[a] τῆς γερουσίας βουλευτήριον.

[b] ἀρχεῖα.

[c] ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων. These words seem to shew that the statues of the Persian portico more resembled the colossal figures attached to pilasters in some of the temples of Egypt, than to the Caryatides of the Pandroseium at Athens. But they differ from the Egyptian figures in having been portraits, and consequently of varied character.

[d] Μοιρῶν.

ing in which were the monuments of Epimenides of Crete, and of Aphareus.

Secondly. In proceeding from the Agora along the street Aphetæ or Aphetais, there first occurred the Booneta [a], formerly the house of King Polydorus; beyond [b] the office [c] of the Bidiæi was the temple of Minerva, surnamed Celeutheia [d], with a statue dedicated by Ulysses, who erected three sanctuaries of Celeutheia in different places [e]. In proceeding along the Aphetais, occurred the heroa of Iops, Amphiaraus, and Lelex,—the temenus of Neptune Tænarius,—a statue of Minerva, dedicated by the Tarentini,—the place [f] called Hellenium,—the monument of Talthybius,—the altar of Apollo Acritas,—Gaseptum, a structure sacred to Earth, near which [g] there was a statue of Apollo Maleates: and at the extremity of the Aphetais, very near the wall (of the city) the temple of Dictynna and the royal sepulchres of the Eurypontidæ. Near the Hellenium was the temple of Arsinoe, who was sister of the wives of Castor and Pollux. Near the Barriers [h] was a temple of Diana, and a little farther a tomb of the Eleian prophets,

[a] τὰ Βοώνητα.
[b] πέραν.
[c] ἀρχεῖον.
[d] Κελευθείας—ἐνοδίους δαίμονας. Hesych.
[e] διεστηκότα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.
[f] χωρίον.
[g] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.
[h] πρὸς τοῖς Φρουρίοις καλουμένοις.

called the Iamidæ,—a temple of Maro and Alpheius, who fell at Thermopylæ,—the temple of Jupiter Tropæus, built by the Dorians on conquering the Achæi of Laconice, and the Amyclæi,—the temple of the Mother of the Gods,—the heroa of Hippolytus and Aulon.

Thirdly. The street of Scias. This street was so called from an ancient place of assembly, said to have been built by Theodorus of Samus [a], near which was a round structure, said to have been founded by Epimenides, containing statues of Jupiter and Venus Olympii; near these buildings were the tomb of Cynortas, the temple and monument of Castor, the tomb of Idas and Lynceus, and the temple of Proserpine the Saviour [b]. Near the temple of Apollo Carneius, called the Domestic [c], stood a statue of Apollo Aphetæus. A quadrangular place surrounded with stoæ was anciently used for selling second-hand wares [d]. Near it there was an altar sacred to Jupiter, Minerva, and the Dioscuri, all surnamed Ambulii,—opposite to which were the place called Colona and the temple of Bacchus Colonatas, and the temenus of the hero who conducted Bacchus to Sparta. Not far from the Dionysium of Colona was the temple of Jupiter

[a] About 700 B. C. It was circular, with a roof formed like an umbrella, σκιάδιον. Etymol. in Σκιὰς.

[b] Κόρης Σωτείρας.

[c] Οἰκέτας.

[d] ῥῶπος.

Euanemus, on the right of which was the heroum of Pleuron. Near the latter was the temple of Juno Argeia, standing on a hill,—the temple of Juno Hypercheiria contained an ancient wooden [a] statue of Aphrodite Hera [b]. In the road which led to the right of the hill there was a statue of Hetœmocles.

Fourthly. The next division of the description of Pausanias was to the west of the Agora. Here was the Cenotaph of Brasidas, and near the latter a magnificent [c] theatre of white marble, opposite to which were the monuments of Pausanias and of Leonidas: at the latter there was a pillar bearing the names of the men who fell at Thermopylæ, with those of their fathers.

Fifthly. In the place [d] called Theomelida, were the royal sepulchres of the Agidæ, and near them the Lesche of the Crotani, who were a portion of the Pitanatæ, and near the Lesche a temple of Æsculapius. Proceeding from thence [e]

[a] ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. The word ξόανον, used by Strabo in reference to statues of every material, is always applied by Pausanias to those in wood. In the Arcadics, (c. 17,) he informs us, that the ancient ξόανα were made of oak and cedar (juniper) of various kinds, of ebony, cypress, box, and λωτὸς, (the Celtis australis according to Sibthorp). It appears also from Pausanias, or from other authors, that the Greeks employed occasionally the olive, myrtle, ivy, vine, agnus castus, and some other woods.

[b] Venus Juno.

[c] θέας ἄξιον.

[d] χωρίον.

[e] προελθοῦσι.

were the monument of Tænarus and the temples of Neptune Hippocurius and of Diana Æginæa. Returning to the Lesche, occurred the temple of Diana Issoria, otherwise called Limnæa. Very near the tombs of the Agidæ there was a pillar, recording the victories gained by Anchionis at Olympia and elsewhere. Pausanias then describes the temples of Thetis, of Ceres Chthonia, of Sarapis, and of Jupiter Olympius. In going to the Dromus from the tombs of the Agidæ, the monument of Eumedes was on the left. There was an ancient statue of Hercules, to which the Σφαιρεῖς, or Ephebi, rising to man's estate, offered sacrifice, and near it, without the Dromus, was a house, anciently that of Menelaus. The Dromus contained two gymnasia; "it is the place", adds Pausanias, "where young men are exercised in running, to this day." Proceeding from thence there occurred temples of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Lucina[a], of Apollo Carneius, and of Diana Hegemache; on the right of the Dromus stood a trophy, erected by Pollux for his victory over Lynceus, near a temple of Æsculapius, surnamed Agnitas, because his statue was made of the wood of the agnus[b]; at the beginning of the Dromus there were statues of the Dioscuri Apheterii,

[a] Εἰλειθυίας. [b] Still called ἁγνιὰ.

and a little farther the heroum of Alcon, and the temple of Neptune Domatites. The place [a] Platanistas received that name from its plane-trees, which were lofty and thickly planted. It was an island surrounded with a running water [b]; two bridges led into it, on each of which there was a statue of Hercules at one end, and of Lycurgus at the other. The night before the contest, each division of the Ephebi sacrificed a young dog in the Phœbæum without the city, near Therapne, and drew lots as to the bridge by which either party was to enter the Platanistas. Near midday they crossed the bridges. The opponents contended with their hands, and, by kicking, biting, and poking the eyes of the adversaries [c], endeavoured to drive them into the water [d]. At the Platanistas were the heroum of Cynisca and a stoa, behind which were heroa of Alcimus and Enaræphorus, a little farther that of Dorceus, from whom the

[a] χωρίον.

[b] κύκλῳ μὲν εὔριπος περιέχει κατὰ ταυτὰ καὶ ἐς νῆσον θάλασσα.

[c] τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντορύσσουσιν.

[d] Cicero (Tuscul. Quæst. l. v. c 27.) gives a similar description of these contests, "Vidimus ipsi, incredibili contentione certantes, pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique." Lucian's account both of the contest and the place is precisely that of Pausanias. . . . . ἐς χωρίον ἐσελθόντες ὕδατι περιγεγραμμένον, ἐς φάλαγγα διεστάντες τὰ πολεμίων ἀλλήλους ἐργάζωνται γυμνοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀχρὶς ἂν ἐκβάλωσι τοῦ περιγράμματος τὸ ἕτερον σύνταγμα οἱ ἕτεροι, τοὺς κατὰ Λύκουργον οἱ καθ' Ἡρακλέα, ἢ ἔμπαλιν, συνωθοῦντες ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. Anachars. c. 38.

neighbouring fountain was called Dorceia, and that of Sebrus, from which the place [a] was named Sebrium. On the right of Sebrium was the monument of the poet Alcman, near which there was a temple of Helene; very near the wall (of the city), were a temple of Hercules, with a statue representing the god in armour, and the monument of Œonus. Eastward of the Dromus there was a turning to the right to a temple of Minerva Axiopœnus, and to the left to another temple of Minerva, founded by Theras, near which was a temple of Hipposthenes, and opposite to it an ancient wooden statue of Enyalius [b] in fetters.

Sixthly. That which appears to form a sixth division in the description of Pausanias begins abruptly as follows. "In Sparta [c] there is a Lesche called Pœcile, where are heroa of Cadmus, Œolycus, Ægeus, and Amphilochus. The Lacedæmonians are the only people who give Juno the epithet of Ægophagus, and sacrifice goats to the goddess; her temple was said to have been founded by Hercules." Near the theatre stood a temple of Neptune Genethlius, and heroa of Cleodæus and Œbalus. The most celebrated of the temples of Æsculapius in Sparta was near the Booneta; to its left was the

[a] χωρίον. [b] Mars. [c] ἐν Σπάρτῃ.

heroum of Teleclus; on proceeding, there was a small height, on which stood an ancient temple of Venus with a wooden statue of the goddess armed[a]; this building was singular, as having an upper story sacred to Morpho, a name of Venus, and which contained a statue in cedar of the goddess veiled and fettered. Near it there was a temple of Hilaeira and Phœbe containing their statues, and an egg suspended from the roof, said to have been that of Leda. Chiton was a house[b] in which the priestesses of the same temple wove every year the garment[c] for the statue of Apollo at Amyclæ. Near it was the house of Phormion, and on the way from Chiton towards the city gates[d] the heroa of Chilon and Athenæus.

Seventhly. The Lacedæmonians had a temple of Lycurgus; behind it were the tomb of Eucosmus his son, and an altar of Lathria and Anaxandra; opposite the temple were monuments of Theopompus and Eurybiades, and the heroum of Astrabacus.

Eighthly. In the place[e] called Limnæum were temples of Diana Orthia and Latona. The statue of the former was small, and made of wood.

Ninthly. The Lacedæmonians, says Pausa-

[a] ὡπλισμένης. [b] οἴκημα. [c] χιτῶνα. [d] ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. [e] χωρίον.

nias, have not a citadel in a high place like the Cadmeia at Thebes, or the Larissa at Argos; but the highest of the hills in the city, they call the Acropolis. It contained the temple of Minerva Poliuchus, or Chalcicœcus, which was begun by Tyndareus. Long afterwards the Lacedæmonians caused both the temple and the statue to be made of brass by Gitiadas, a Spartan, who composed Doric poems and a hymn to the goddess. Many of the actions of Hercules, and some of those of the Dioscuri, were figured on the brass in relief, together with other representations, of which the largest and most admirable were the birth of Minerva, and figures of Neptune and Amphitrite. There was a separate sanctuary [a] of Minerva Ergane. Adjacent to the southern stoa [b] of the Chalcicœcus stood a temple [c] of Jupiter Cosmetas, before which was the monument of Tyndareus. The western stoa of the temple of Chalcicœcus contained two eagles bearing two Victories, dedicated by Lysander for his victories at Ephesus and Ægospotami. To the left of the temple there was a sanctuary of the Muses, and behind it a temple of Venus containing some very ancient statues of wood. To the right of the Chalcicœcus stood a most ancient brazen statue of Jupiter, by Learchus of Rhegium, formed of se-

[a] ἱερὸν. [b] ἐς τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίᾳ στόαν. [c] ναὸς.

veral hammered pieces united with nails. Near the Σκήνωμα there was a statue of Euryleonis. Near the altar of Chalcicœcus stood two statues of Pausanias, together with those of Venus Ambologera, and of the brothers Sleep and Death. In the way to the Alpium [a] there was a temple of Minerva Ophthalmitis [b], said to have been founded by Lycurgus. On proceeding from thence, occurred a temple of Ammon. Pausanias then ends with some remarks upon the name of Diana Cnagia, which seem to shew that there was a temple of that deity near the Acropolis, with a statue said to have been brought by Cnageus from Crete.

The theatre is the only point in the preceding description which can be identified with absolute certainty. But it is a point which throws great light on the whole description of Pausanias. Between the western side of the Agora and the theatre, he mentions only one monument, the tomb of Brasidas. We have the situation, therefore, of the Agora in the hollow of the great height behind the theatre. Thus placed, the eastern extremity of the Agora would be not far removed from an opening, partly natural and partly artificial, which is still observable

[a] τὸ Ἄλπιον.

[b] Plutarch (in Lycurg.) says the Spartan term was Optiletis, from the Laconic word Ὀπτίλοι, for ὀφθάλμοι, eyes.

towards the middle of that bank of hills which overlooks the valley of the Eurotas, and forms the front of Sparta to the north-east. This opening, it is further remarkable, is immediately opposite to the remains of a bridge over the Eurotas. Here therefore it would seem that the roads from all the eastern side of Laconia centered and crossed the river into the city, and having entered it, terminated in the Agora. Pausanias has described two main streets leading from the Agora to the walls of Sparta, in each of which there was a succession of remarkable objects,—the one named Aphetæ, the other Scias. The Scias passed by two heights, and terminated not far beyond that upon which the temple of Juno Argeia was situated. Pausanias does not indeed describe the first mentioned of the two heights by the word λόφος, as he does that of Juno Argeia, but he says the place was called Κολώνα[a], and that the temple of Bacchus which stood there had the epithet of Colonatas, which seems sufficient to shew that it stood upon a height. These particulars, therefore, answer so well to the two heights north-westward of Psykhikó, that it may fairly be presumed that the street Scias led in this direction; that the height nearest to the Agora was the Colona, surmounted by the Dionysium,

[a] Doric for κολώνη, a hill.

and that the temple of Juno Argeia stood on the height nearest to Psykhikó. It may be observed, also, that the ancient bridge over the Trypiótiko, lying nearly in a line with the two hills, appears to mark the former existence of a street in that direction, and so far tends to confirm what has just been advanced.—The street called Aphetæ, or Aphetais, traversed the city to the Dictynneium and the tombs of the kings of the race of Eurypon; it departed from the Agora at the Booneta near which building stood a temple of Æsculapius, from whence there appears to have been another street leading to the walls, for though Pausanias does not specifically describe a street, or give a name to it, he continues to mention a succession of objects from the Asclepieium, terminating in the city gates[a]. If the supposed direction of the Scias is right, it seems evident, that the Aphetæ and the street proceeding from the Asclepieium, must both be drawn from the Agora to the walls, in the interval between the street of Scias and the theatre. It is difficult to say whether the Aphetais, or the street beginning at the Asclepieium, was the more westerly of the two. I should be disposed to think the latter, because Pausanias describes the Scias immediately after the Aphetais. It seems not improbable, that the modern name Kalagoniá may

[a] πύλαι.

be a corruption of Heptagonia, which, from Livy's narrative of the attempt of T. Quinctius Flamininus to take Sparta[a], just before his treaty with Nabis, seems to have been a building in the circumference of the city, and probably on the side towards Amyclæ, because the Romans advanced from thence and retired thither after their failure. It appears from the historian, that Quinctius, having 50,000 men, threatened the city on every side, but reserved his real attack for the three points of the Dictynneium, Heptagonia, and Phœbæum, because Nabis, whose walls were incomplete, had reserved for the last those parts where the defence might be partly supplied by the strength of the exterior buildings themselves.

For the rest of the topography of Sparta the most important point to determine is the Acropolis. Pausanias says it was the highest of the hills of Sparta[b]. This is rather a doubtful description, as there is little or no apparent difference between the height of the great hill and of that at the northern extremity of the site. Upon farther examination, however, it is seen that the only part of the great hill equal in height to the other is the back of the theatre, which could not have been the Acropolis.

[a] Liv. l. 34. c. 38.

[b] τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον.

There is some reason to think also that the natural height of this hill has been increased by the theatre itself and its ruins, so that the expression of Pausanias may still have been just, as applied to the northern hill, which, moreover, being separated from the rest, and at one angle of the site, was better adapted for an acropolis than any other.

As to the Dromus, if we suppose the Platanistas to have occupied the low ground above the junction of the Trypiótiko and Iri, and this seems the only place that will suit the descriptions of Lucian and Pausanias, it will almost necessarily follow, that the Dromus was the plain which lies along the bank of the Eurotas to the north-westward of that point; for that it was near the Platanistas, and consequently to the river, is evident from its having been employed in the exercises of the Spartan youth, as well as from the tenor of the narrative of Pausanias. Nor is this opinion invalidated by the passage of Xenophon in which he relates that the cavalry of Epaminondas, whose camp was at Amyclæ, advanced, in approaching the city, as far as the Hippodrome and temple of Neptune Gæauchus; for it seems evident that the Hippodrome was not the same place as the Dromus; first, because the Dromus is described by Pausanias as containing two gymnasia, and

as being a place, not for the running of horses, but of men, like the Stadium in other Greek cities. Secondly, because Pausanias mentions the Gæauchus in a very different part of his narrative from that in which the Dromus occurs, and apparently as being to the southward of the city.

The Lesche Pœcile seems to have been not far from the theatre, possibly to the westward, where some ancient foundations are now seen near Magúla. I am inclined to believe that the temple of Lycurgus was in the same part of the site.

In front of the theatre, as I have already remarked, there is an ancient sepulchre still existing. It is highly probable that a monument so situated was that of some illustrious person; we have seen that Pausanias describes the tombs of the kings Leonidas and Pausanias exactly in this situation; the existing sepulchre, therefore, has some claim to be that of the two celebrated Spartans, who, in this case, were buried in a very different part of the city from the rest of the Agidæ.

Some idea may be formed from the ancient authorities of the situation of the five tribes of Sparta; namely, the Pitanatæ, Limnatæ, Messoatæ, Ægidæ, and Cynosurenses[a]. 1. Pita-

[a] For the proofs of the five tribes, see the "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis," Vol. V., note to Ch. 41. Those proofs

natæ;—Herodotus shews that the theatre was in the quarter of Pitane; Plutarch[a] mentions it as being the most desirable and fashionable quarter of Sparta, like the Colyttus at Athens, and the Craneium at Corinth; and Pindar describes Pitane as being at the ford of the Eurotas. These authorities seem to indicate that the Pitanatæ inhabited all the part of Sparta adjacent to the Agora, and extended to the river about the centre of its course in front of Sparta, for here was probably in all times its most frequented passage. The Pitanatæ thus placed in the middle part of the eastern side of the city, will throw some light on the position of the royal sepulchres of the race of Agis, which stood near the Lesche of the Crotani, who were a division of the Pitanatæ. If the tombs of the Agidæ stood, like those of the Eurypontidæ, on the skirts of the town, we may suppose that they were not far distant from the natural opening in the eastern bank of the site of Sparta near the ruined Circus. They will thus be placed at no great distance from the Dromus, as they really appear to have been from the description of Pausanias.

would have been quite sufficient without the assistance of the spurious inscription of Fourmont, whose impostures it is surprising that Barthélémi did not detect.

[a] De Exilio.

2. The Limnatæ; there can be no doubt that this tribe inhabited a part of the city near the Eurotas, the name having been derived from the marshes, which once existed there [a]. As the Dromus occupied a great part of the lower level towards the southern extremity, we cannot hesitate in supposing the Limnatæ to have occupied the northern; and this part of the site being in the neighbourhood of the Acropolis, accounts for Pausanias having passed immediately from the mention of the Limnæum to that of Acropolis. The Issorium appears to have been in this vicinity, for Plutarch [b] and Polyænus [c], in relating a stratagem of Agesilaus for defeating a conspiracy which was formed in the city, at the moment when Epaminondas threatened it from the opposite side of the Eurotas, indicate the Issorium as a strong height, near Pitane. The Issorium was a temple of Diana, surnamed Issoria, or Pitanatis, or Limnæa; from this last epithet, added to the other data, it is probable that the Issorium was that part of the great summit which advances into the level of the Eurotas, a little above the ruined Circus.

3. The Messoatæ seem to have occupied the south-eastern part of the town, for the tomb of

[a] Strabo, p. 363.
[b] Plutarch in Agesil.
[c] Polyæn. Strateg. l. 2. c. 1.

Alcman, one of the most eminent characters of this tribe, was not far from the Platanistas.

4. The Ægidæ, for a similar reason, appear to have been in the north-western part of the city; for the tomb of Ægeus, who gave name to them, was near the Lesche Pœcile.

5. If the foregoing arrangement of the four tribes is well founded, the fifth, or Cynosurenses, were the occupants of the south-western part of the city. Barthélémy, however, has supposed that they inhabited the part adjacent to the branch of Taygetum, which overlooks Sparta to the north-west, such rocky projections, according to him, having been called Cynosuræ.

Polybius[a] has very clearly defined the limits of Sparta to the eastward, at the time of the invasion of Philip (B. C. 218.), by saying there was a distance of a stade and a half[b] between the foot of the cliffs of Mount Menelaium and the nearest part of the city. The narrowness of the interval is strongly described also by Livy, in relating the expedition of Quinctius against Nabis, which occurred twenty-three years afterwards; and again in that of Philopœmen, three years later, against the same Spartan tyrant[c]. It

[a] Polyb. l. 5. c. 22.

[b] τριῶν ἡμισταδίων.

[c] ad Eurotam amnem, sub ipsis prope fluentem mœnibus, pervenit. Liv. l. 34. c. 28. ad Eurotam amnem, qui prope ipsis adfluit mœnibus. Liv. l. 35. c. 29.

clearly appears, therefore, that the city then extended to the cliffs at the south-eastern extremity of the *plateau*, or table-land, and that only the meadow, which I suppose to have been the Platanistas, was excluded.

Though Polybius says, that Sparta had no walls when Philip threatened the place, it appears from Pausanias [a] that some fortifications had been hastily thrown up in the earliest attempt of the Macedonians under Demetrius Poliorcetes, and again when Pyrrhus overran Laconia. Nabis undertook to raise a more solid work around the city [b], and to protect it by a ditch [c], though, as we have already seen, the operation was not completed when Quinctius attacked Sparta. Livy, in relating the subsequent attack of Sparta by Philopœmen, alludes to two of the city gates, one of which led to Mount Barbosthenes, the other to Pheræ [d]. After the death of Nabis, Philopœmen demolished all the defences of Sparta [e]; but, at length, the Spartans having been taken into favour by Rome, the city was surrounded with walls by order of Appius, the Roman legate [f]. In this state it probably remained, with little other change than that of its progress to decay, for the ensu-

[a] Pausan. Achaic. c. 8.
[b] Pausan. ibid.
[c] Liv. l. 34. c. 27.
[d] Liv. l. 35. c. 30.
[e] Pausan. Achaic. c. 8.
[f] Pausan. Achaic. c. 9.

ing 250 years, at the end of which time Pausanias visited Sparta, and mentions both walls and gates. Not a vestige of them, however, can now be traced.

Polybius describes the form of Sparta as circular, and its circumference as forty-eight stades, which, at the valuation of the stade by Polybius himself, is six Roman miles. As the side towards the Eurotas measured about two miles with the windings of the outline, the computation of Polybius sufficiently agrees with actual appearances, though the form of the city seems rather to have been semicircular than circular.

It is singular that neither Pausanias nor any other ancient authority has made mention of that lively, bright, perennial rivulet, now called the river of Trypi, which skirts the site of Sparta on the south. An allusion to it, however, appears to have been made by the Oracle of Delphi in its answer to Lycurgus, as reported by Plutarch. The oracle is said to have directed the Spartan legislator to erect temples to Jupiter and Minerva, and to fix the seat of the senate [a] and kings [b] between the Babyca and Cnacion. These two names were obsolete long before the time of Plutarch; one of them he supposed to be the same as the river Œnus, now the Kelefína: as to the other, it is difficult to discover

[a] γερουσία. [b] ἀρχαγέται.

what he thought, owing, perhaps, to a defect in his text. In the opinion of Aristotle, as reported in the same passage of Plutarch, the Babyca was the bridge over the Eurotas, and the Cnacion a river. Whence it seems that Aristotle considered the river Trypiótiko to have been the Cnacion; for though the buildings alluded to by Plutarch did not lie exactly between that stream and the bridge over the Eurotas (supposing it to have been in the same central situation where its remains are now traced); there is no other river to which the interpretation of Aristotle can be applicable. If we suppose the Trypiótiko to have been the Cnacion, and the Œnus, or modern Kélefína, to have been the same as the Babyca, the oracle is then perfectly intelligible and correctly applicable to the locality; for the Agora of Sparta lay about midway between the mouth of the Kelefína and the Trypiótiko.

The following is the only information we find in ancient history as to Therapne, and it is so obscure, that I cannot but suspect some defect in the text of Pausanias. After having described Sparta, and then Amyclæ, he says[a], "another road leads to Therapne, upon which there is a statue of Minerva Alea; before crossing the Eurotas, a little above the bank, there is a tem-

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 19.

ple of Jupiter Plusius; on the opposite bank[a] there is a temple of Æsculapius Cotyleus, built by Hercules. The most ancient monument on this road is the temple of Mars, surnamed Thereitas, in which there is a statue of the god, said to have been brought by the Dioscuri from Colchi: it is on the left of the road. Therapne contains a temple of Menelaus, where are said to be the tombs of Menelaus and Helen, and a fountain called Messeis. On the right hand of the road to Therapne there is another fountain, Polydeuceia, and a temple of Pollux. Near Therapne is the Phœbæum[b]. Here is a temple of the Dioscuri; and here the Ephebi sacrifice to Enyalius. Not far from hence is the temple of Neptune, surnamed Gæauchus, from whence, proceeding towards Taygetum, occurs the place[c] called Alesiæ, where is the heroum of Lacedæmon, son of Taygete. From thence, after having crossed the river Phellia, near Amyclæ, and proceeded in the direction of the sea, occurs Pharis", &c. In this description Pausanias receives some illustration from a passage in Xenophon already referred to[d]. The

[a] διαβᾶσι.

[b] The same testimony as to the proximity of the Phœbæum to Therapne is repeated in Chapter XIV. See also Herodotus, (l. 6. c. 61.) who describes the temple of Helena at Therapne as situated above the Phœbæum (ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβαίου.

[c] χωρίον.

[d] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. c. 5.

historian states, in relating the expedition of the Thebans and their allies against Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, that Epaminondas marched from Sellasia to the bridge over the Eurotas, when seeing a body of hoplitæ prepared to oppose him in the sanctuary of Minerva Alea, he drew off his forces, and marched along the left bank of the Eurotas, until he arrived opposite to Amyclæ, where he crossed the river. Now the statue described, in the passage just cited, as standing between the city and a temple of Jupiter, near the right bank of the Eurotas, just before crossing it on the way to Therapne, is the only Minerva Alea at Sparta, mentioned by Pausanias. Here, therefore, the two authors perfectly agree, if we suppose the road to Therapne to have crossed the bridge of the Eurotas: and as there was a difference of five or six centuries between the visit of Epaminondas and that of Pausanias, it is not surprising that there should have been a temple and defensible post at the sanctuary of Minerva Alea at the former period of time, and a statue only at the latter. And hence it becomes highly probable that the present ford in the road from the vicinity of Magúla to the eastward, which is central in reference to the eastern side of the site of Sparta, and where vestiges of a bridge are still apparent, was in all ages the situation of the bridge, the existence

of which, as we have seen, is attested by Plutarch and Aristotle, as well as by Xenophon. In the time of Pausanias it is probable that the city, instead of extending nearly to the bridge as in that of Xenophon, terminated at the heights, and left the whole level towards the bank of the river unoccupied; and that hence the passage across the level, which in the earlier period was a street nearly as far as the bridge, is described by Pausanias as the road[a] to Therapne. As to the position of Therapne itself, there seems no other inference to be drawn from the words of Pausanias, than that the Phœbæum and Therapne, though very near to each other, were on opposite banks of the Eurotas, Therapne on the left and the Phœbæum on the right, and that Pausanias has omitted to notice that the river lay between them: for he proceeds, as we have seen, immediately from the Phœbæum, to describe the places in the plain, without any mention of the Eurotas. It may be added, that this position of the Phœbæum on the *right* bank of the Eurotas, agrees thoroughly with what may be inferred from the passage of Livy[b] before cited, where he states that Quinctius, who was encamped on the right bank of the Eurotas near Amyclæ, directed one

[a] ὁδός.

[b] Liv. l. 34. c. 28.

of his columns of attack against the part of the city adjoining to the Ephebeium, of which word Phœbæum was the local form.

I have already suggested that the walls which surround the great height, or second from the north, are of a late period of the Roman empire, and that they probably then defended all that remained of the population of Sparta. The fact is sufficiently apparent from the construction of the walls themselves, formed almost entirely of ancient fragments, and thus indicating an advanced state of ruin in the city itself. It is no less evident from the reduced space inclosed by them, comprehending only the principal height, and excluding the cavea of the theatre, the exterior wall of which was a part of the new inclosure. The Circus, as I have already remarked, seems, both from its construction and dimensions, to have been of the same period as the town walls. As it must have been intended for the spectacles and customs of heathen Greece, all these constructions may be attributed to a period prior, though probably not by many years, to the establishment of Christianity in the Peloponnesus. Perhaps they were the work of Julian in his endeavours to restore the declining cities of Greece, and to reanimate expiring Polytheism. The invasion of the Goths in the fourth century, and the

irruption of the Slavonic tribes in the subsequent ages of barbarism, must have contributed to the further depopulation of Sparta; but at what time it was totally abandoned, or at what exact period Mistrá became the chief place of the Κοίλη Λακεδαίμων, or Lacedæmonian valley, it is impossible to determine. We may presume that the advantages of the stronger position of Mistrá, were felt and employed very soon after Constantinople ceased to be able to afford protection to its distant provinces. The name of Mistrá first occurs in the form of Myzithrá, which is still sometimes used, together with Moréa for Peloponnesus, and other modern appellations, after the partial revival of letters in the twelfth century, when the Byzantine writers resumed the thread of Grecian history, and revealed at the same time the progress of barbarism. Pachymer, speaking of an occurrence of the year 1259, names Monemvasía, Maíni, Ieráki, and Myzithrá [a], as the chief places in the south of the Peloponnesus. It is true, that Nicephorus Gregoras, relating the same event, makes mention of Sparta as if it still existed; but it is probable, that Nicephorus merely preferred the ancient to the modern name, from a desire to shew his knowledge of antiquity, and to allude to the former glories of

[a] Μονεμβασία, Μαΐνη, Ἱεράκιον, Μυζηθρᾶς.

his country; and that, in reality, by Sparta he meant Mistrá. The absence of any remains of churches at Sparta, and the antiquity of some of those at Mistrá, prove that the Episcopal See was at a very early period of Christianity established at the latter place. The title of the bishop residing at Mistrá is Metropolitan of Lacedæmonia [a], the same which we constantly find subscribed to the acts of the Councils.

March 23.—Ride to the village of Sinánbey, near Sklavokhóri, in search of the site of *Bryseæ*, which the description of Pausanias, and some information given me by a peasant at Sparta, induce me to think was near that village. To the west of it, at the foot of the mountain, I find a fine source of water and several antique fragments in a ruined chapel; among others, on a piece of white marble that appears to have been part of a frize, is a wolf pursuing a deer, in a spirited style, in very low relief. In the village I find also a sculptured marble which had been described to me by the same informant. It was lying near a chapel, with the wrought side downwards. It represents in relief, a battle of women on horseback, armed with *bipennes*, against men on foot, in scaly armour, armed with short swords. The subject was probably the death of Penthesilea;

[a] μητροπολίτης τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας.

the date that of the Roman Empire. The design is good, but the execution rough and unfinished; so much so, indeed, that an Ionic cornice at the top, which shews it to have belonged to a frize, is wrought in part only, the rest being simply smoothed and shaped out for the ornament. The stone was dug up three or four years ago, as I am told, in an adjoining field[a].

Through the gorge behind Sklavokhóri, at the entrance of which stands a tower, on the summit of a perpendicular rock there is a road to Sokhá, a village in the upper cultivated region of Taygetum, where are said to be some remains of antiquity, possibly those of the temple of Ceres Eleusinia, which was near the great summits, anciently called Taletum and Evoras[b]. Sinánbey I take to be the site of Bryseæ. The marbles representing female ornaments, and recording the names of the priestesses, Laoagete and Anthuse, which are now lying at the neighbouring village of Sklavokhóri, probably belonged to the temple of Bacchus at Bryseæ, into which women alone were admitted, and of which they performed the secret rites. The name of Bryseæ may have been derived from the source[c] at the chapel. I return to Mistrá through Aianni.

[a] The marble is now in my possession.

[b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 20.

[c] Βρύσις.

CHAPTER VI.

LACONIA.

From Mistrá to Monemvasía—Epidaurus Limera—Epidelium—Return to Elos—Ancient Geography—From Elos to Marathonisi.

March 25.—This morning I bid adieu to my host the bishop, and leave Mistrá for Monemvasía. His Holiness appears to be a kind hearted man, and a favourite with his flock, but as ignorant a Kalóieros[a] as I have chanced to meet. In the course of conversation, when I stated that Britain is seven or eight hundred (Greek) miles[b] long;—"then it must be as large", he said, "as the Morea," which is about one fourth as long. When I told him it was an island, he cried, Κύριε ἐλέησον, "Lord have mercy upon me." He had taken his idea of islands from those of the Ægæan.

At Aianni I visit Amús Aga of Bardhúnia,

[a] All the Greek prelates are taken from the regular clergy, the Μοναχοι, or Καλογέροι.

[b] The Greeks have no measure of a mile: their ideas concerning it are derived by tradition from the Romans, and in process of time they seem to have shortened even the Roman mile.

who is living upon the villages of the plain. He receives 500 piastres from the town of Mistrá, not to disturb them; the villages, therefore, are the principal sufferers. I was the bearer of a letter to him from the vóivoda, requesting him to supply me with an escort and orders for the Dervénis on the frontiers of Bardhúnia, of which these Bardhuniótes have made themselves the guardians. I find him in a miserable cottage in Aianni, surrounded with his followers in Albanian dresses, and himself clothed like a chieftain of the same people, in a waistcoat and cloak covered with gold lace: he appears about forty years of age. His manner is frank and civil, like that of the generality of his race, and he immediately supplies me with two men on foot to accompany me. Some of the Bardhuniótes possess tjiftliks in the plain of Mistrá. The brother of Amús Aga, called Dervísh Bey, had a large pyrgo in the town of Mistrá, which is now in ruins: he was put to death twelve years ago by the then vóivoda, by order of the Porte.

I leave St. John at 7.57, and cross the plain in the direction of the opening through which the *Eurotas* issues from the *Spartan* valley into the plain of Elos. This gorge, which is noticed by Strabo[a], separates the eastern range from a

[a] ὁ Εὐρώτας παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Σπάρτην ῥυεὶς καὶ διεξιὼν αὐλῶνά τινα μακρὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἔλος, ἐκδίδωσι μεταξὺ Γυθίου καὶ Ἀκριῶν. Strabo, p. 343.

long and lofty counterfort of Mount *Taygetum* called Lykovúni, which bounds the plain of Mistrá on the south, as the parallel root, which terminates at the site of *Sparta*, does on the north. At 8.57 the tjiftlik of Mohámmed Bey is on the left, half a mile, and a little farther that of Dervísh Bey on the right, at the same distance. Under St. Elias, or the highest peak of *Taygetum*, half way down, appears the village of Polovítza. At 9.12 we pass a river called Takhúrti which rises near Polovítza, and then, having crossed the low ridge which I have already described as a continuation of the heights on which Sparta stood, we descend into the lower vale on the banks of the *Eurotas*, where, at 9.32, we pass another stream at a mill just under the village of Kakári, opposite to which, on the other side of the *Eurotas*, is the tjiftlik of Skura. At 9.39 arrive on the bank of the *Eurotas*, which is here wide, sandy, and rapid: on the opposite side of the river stands a pyrgo and zeugalatía, or tjiftlik called Babas. At 10.20 pass a mill under the heights, lose five minutes, and at 10.35 begin to cross the extremity of Lykovúni.—The *Eurotas* remains on our left, flowing eastward through a rocky ravine lying between the height we cross and the great bank on the opposite side of the river, which is a continuation of Mount *Menelaium*.

After having passed the extremity of Lykovúni, we enter a valley, through which a large stream flows into the *Eurotas*, called Rasína, or Erasína; it descends from Potamiá, a town of Bardhúnia on the right. Though I find no mention in ancient history of a river *Erasinus* in this part of the country, the similarity of the modern name, and the frequent occurrence of Erasinus in ancient geography as the appellation of a river, leave great reason to suspect that Rasína is a corruption of *Erasinus*. Here the *Eurotas* resumes a more southerly course. On the hills to the right is seen Kurtzúna, two miles south of Potamiá, and to the right of the latter the monastery of Garbítza, on the south side of the St. Elias, or highest summit of *Taygetum*, for which I can learn no other name here than the Mountain of Mani[a]. At 10.53 we arrive at the Vásilo-Pérama, or ford of the Vasíli Potamó, as the *Eurotas* is here called, and cross it a quarter of a mile above the junction of the Potamiá river, immediately opposite to which is a pyrgo and tjiftlik belonging to Dervísh Bey, a young man whom I met at Amús Aga's. At 11½ we are in the midst of low rugged heights, with the *Eurotas* running through a gorge on the right, at the foot of

[a] βουνὶ τῆς Μάνης.

Lykovúni. At 11.50 descend upon its bank. At 12.17, after having taken some armed men from a guard-house, we pass through the Dervéni of Mavrokúrla, a hollow road resembling a great ditch, among some rugged heights.

At 12.35 we again meet the bank of the Vasíli Potamó, and at 12.45 enter a vale at first barren, but afterwards of good soil and green with wheat, more forward than in the plain of Mistrá, and with sekáli, or rye, already in ear: at 12.52 the pyrgo and tjiftlik of Abdúl Kerím is on the right bank of the *Eurotas*, and the village of Fínika somewhere near, but not in sight. At 2, on an ascent, which on the other side slopes to the plain of Elos, I halt for dinner on the edge of the hill, at the ruins of a chapel by the road side. I find these meridian halts, which are generally determined by the occurrence of a spring of water, to be the most acceptable arrangement for both men and cattle. From hence the village of Ieráki[a] is seen on the side of the southernmost division of the eastern range, at the distance of three miles in a strait line. Behind it I perceive the ruins of a former town on the top of a hill. Among them there are said to be some remains of Hellenic walls. The gorge of the *Eurotas* at the foot of Lykovúni is now half a mile on our right: to the south

[a] Γιεράκι, or Ἱεράκι.

and south-east appears the gulf of Kolokýthia with a part of the plain of Elos near the sea, and the island of Cerigo terminating the prospect. To the eastward the eastern Laconic range ends in a peaked hill, which forms a remarkable object from the castle of Mistrá, and on the side of which is the village of Beziané.

At 2.37 I pursue my journey, and descend gradually a barren tract, rocky and covered with bushes of mastic, holly-oak, and wild olive. At 3.8 arrive at a spot where the modern road passes over a flat surface of rock, in which the ruts of chariot wheels are still remaining for the distance of thirty or forty paces, they are four feet two inches asunder, and two inches deep; in one spot there is a semicircular excavation on one side, intended apparently for the purpose of allowing a car to turn out of the road to make room for another to pass. At 3.16, at a descent, I again see similar tracks of wheels, vestiges probably of the ancient carriage-road which led from Sparta to Helos, and to the towns on the Laconic gulf. It here winds in curves first to the right, and then to the left, for the purpose of easing the descent; in some places there are marks of two or three ruts close together. Hereabout terminates the long narrow vale of the Eurotas, between the plains of *Sparta* and *Helos*, which Strabo has

so well described by the words αὐλὼν μακρὸς. At 3.26 ascending a hill to Tzasi [a], one of the villages of Elos, I meet again with the ancient road indicated by the same kind of wheel tracks to the extent of not less than 100 paces. Here it would seem that the ancient carriage road to Trinasus and Gythium, separated from that which led through Helos to Asopus, Epidaurus Limera, and Bœæ.

Leaving one of the villages of Elos on the right, we pass at 3.50 through Tzasi, and descend into the maritime plain, and then turn to the left along the foot of some low hills, upon which are two or three more villages of the same district; to the right the plain extends to the sea, and a lagoon is seen at its south-eastern extremity. All the land towards the shore, being marshy, is in pasture, the rest is covered with corn now two feet high; and the forwardest I have yet seen. A few old mulberry and olive trees show that the plain once produced oil and silk. At 5 we arrive at Príniko [b], the last of the villages of Elos to the south-eastward.

The plain and sub-district of Elos extends from the mountain of Bezianě to the foot of the hills of Bardhúnia and to the frontier of Mani, which begins at Trínisa, the ancient Trinasus. The villages of Elos are eleven in

[a] Τζάση. [b] Πρίγγικο.

number, none containing more than twenty houses; most of them are situated on the low hills which encircle the plain, but some are in the plain itself. Skala, which stands on the bank of the *Eurotas*, an hour above its mouth, is so called from being the place of embarkation of the district. Though Elos is almost entirely separated from the other parts of the district of Mistrá by parts of Bardhúnia and Monemvasía, its villages are all enrolled in that Kázasi. The dhekatiá of cotton is one tenth, that of corn one seventh, a third of the remainder goes to the proprietor of the land, the rest to the zevgalátes. The mukatá of the three principal villages, Príniko, Tzasi, and Túrali, was sold last year for twenty-four purses, and the purchasers are supposed to have been gainers in consequence of the high price of corn this year. Wheat is now twelve piastres a kilo in Mistrá and Monemvasía[a]. The three villages just named produce corn, besides 4000 okes of cotton; and the fishery of the lagoon belongs to the same mukatá. The chief produce of fish is in summer; in the winter the fish are disturbed by the violence of the wind and by the salt water, which is blown by it into the lake over the sandy beach which

[a] The exchange with England was then about fifteen pence to the piastre.

separates it from the sea. Cattle are sent in winter to Elos for pasture from the plain of Tripolitzá. There are a few buffaloes used for labour in the plain. Elos, Anápli, Gastúni, and Nisí are, I believe, the only places in the Moréa where these animals are seen.

At the sight of the high black cap of the vóivoda's Dehli who accompanies me, the inhabitants of Príniko fled and hid themselves, and some time elapsed before I could procure admittance into one of the cottages. The Helote who owned it, when forced at length to make his appearance, bestowed the most ridiculous flattery on the ragged Turkish soldier. When told that the new vóivoda was arrived at Anápli, on his way from Constantinople, and was daily expected at Mistrá, "A thousand and a thousand times welcome", he exclaimed, with a profusion of benedictions which the Turk received with a grave face, though perfectly understanding the value of these compliments to his master, and that the Greek knew as well as himself that the arrival of a new governor could make no other difference to the poor Helotes than the imposition of some extraordinary gratuity, and consequently that he meant nothing but curses in his heart. At dinner the Turkish soldier did ample justice to the Helote's fare, who not then knowing that I should re-

munerate him for the damage, must have considered the effect of the Dehli's teeth as all clear loss to him. He pretended nevertheless to lament that the Dehli ate very little, and after many pressing invitations, when at length he saw the Turk fairly a-ground, ended with the reflection, οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι δὲν τρώγουν, "great men never eat much." One of the cottagers told me of two or three miracles that had happened to him last year. On one occasion a wine barrel that had been long lying empty he found full of good wine. It has always been part of the Greek character to believe in θαύματα: when the traveller tells them that such wonders never occur in his own country, they reply that it is a proof of their being the especial favourites of Heaven, though they admit that at present they are suffering severe punishment for their sins. The bolúk bashi, who superintends the affairs of the mukátasi of Tzasi, and the two other villages, said to me, "This land of Elos is good and rich, but we are obliged to squeeze the peasants too much, otherwise it would produce a great deal more." Thus it often happens, that Turks possessing local power are well inclined to exercise it with moderation for their own sakes, but the vicious system beginning from the head, and passing through all the gradations of the Turkish go-

vernment, irresistibly impels them to a contrary course.

Príniko stands about a mile from the sea side; opposite to it begins the lagoon which extends for a mile along the shore, and then becomes a marsh as far as the south-eastern extremity of the plain, where the beach ceases, and the hills end in cliffs over-hanging the sea. The lake is about half a mile broad in the widest part.

I can neither see nor learn any thing decisive of the exact position of that maritime city Helos[a], which supplied some of the ships of Menelaus in the Trojan expedition, and after the return of the Heracleidæ partook of the fate of the other Laconic cities, which were reduced to insignificance by the Doric conquerors for the sake of Sparta, that of Helos becoming at length so peculiarly the victim of their aristocratical oppression, that the name of the people was applied to all the servile class of the Lacedæmonian state, whether natives of Laconia or of Messenia.

March 26. This morning, at a quarter of an hour beyond Príniko, I meet with an inscribed column, which was uncovered by the plough not long since in a field at the foot of the heights on the left of our road. The inscription contains the names of the Emperors Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, and Constans. The marsh is at

[a] Ἕλος ἠφαλόν πτολίεθρον. Homer. Il. B. v. 584.

a little distance on the right. Leaving this spot, at 6.15 we arrive, at the end of three miles, at the foot of the hill of Beziané, where some low cliffs overhang a narrow beach. The lower part of the hill, as well as the adjacent plain, is covered with the Veláni oak[a], the leaves of which are just beginning to appear. We pass under the cliffs, and arrive, in five minutes, at a ruined chapel, where are some fragments of antiquity, and the base of a column of the time of the lower empire;—then ascend the mountain of Beziané, moving in the direction of the northernmost and highest peak; the road very rugged and overgrown with bushes. Just under the peak we pass a cave, in which saltpetre is made by simply boiling the earth: this is a common production of the caverns of the Moréa. Sulphur being easily supplied from Milo and Crete, gunpowder is made in many parts of the Peninsula.

A little under the cave I see some tracks of ancient wheels in the rock, of the same dimensions as those I measured yesterday. Having passed the higher peak to the left, and proceeded in the direction of the lower and southernmost peak, I halt under the latter for ten minutes, to take some observations of the eastern coast of Mani, which, as well as the greater

[a] Quercus Ægilops.

part of the gulf, is here displayed before us, bounded eastward by the hills behind Capè Xyli, and the mountains of Monemvasía. We now descend by a paved zig-zag road into the plain of Finíki, and enter the plain at the Turkish village of Patshá [a], opposite to it is Finíki [b], standing on the side of the mountain which borders the plain on the south. Having passed at 10.30 through Patissiá, we cross the plain from thence, and at 11.40 enter the hills which close the plain on the east, and upon which stand the villages of Sykiá and St. Theodore. We leave on the right in the plain, another village called Katavóthra, and behind us, at the distance of a mile, that of Meláos, or Molághos, situated eastward of Patissiá, under the south-eastern side of the high peak of the hill of Beziané. There are some fine fountains and gardens at Meláos, and two or three large pýrghi, which, as well as those of Patissiá, are of a more solid construction than the ordinary Turkish towers. Meláos, some of the Greeks say, is properly Meneláos, and has something to do, though they know not what, with the history of Menelaus and Helen. The plain of Finíki answers precisely to that called *Leuce* by Strabo [c]; it has thus changed its denomination from *white* to *red;* but I do not perceive that either of

[a] Properly Πατισσιὰ. [b] Φοινίκι. [c] Strabo, p. 363.

them is appropriate as a descriptive name. The plain is partly grown with corn just springing up, but the greater part of it is in natural pasture. Having passed, at 12, between Sykiá and Aío Thódhoro, the vulgar pronunciation of Ἅγιος Θεώδορος, we enter among low heights and narrow barren vales, where the ground is in many places covered with wild lavender in blossom, and ascend the mountains, which are steep, rugged, lofty rocks, offering no possibility of cultivation. At 12.50, in the highest part of this wilderness, I halt on the slope of one of the mountains, and dine with a rock for my table, near an opening in the range, which admits of a partial view on either side. To the north-west is seen the hill of Beziané, and to the eastward the sea near Monemvasía; directly before us is a rocky precipice, terminating a mountain, which trends to the south-eastward, and is separated by a ravine from the mountain immediately in face of Monemvasía. At 1.20 we begin to descend into this ravine, and skirt the foot of the precipitous summit, over rocky barren ground, in the midst of which, at 1.50, are a fountain, a garden, and the ruins of a village; from whence, descending towards the sea, we arrive, at 2.30, in front of the northern side of the island of Monemvasía, which is a bare precipice like the back of Gibraltar. We now move

southward along the rocks on the shore at a very slow pace, the road being bad, and our wretched Agoyatic horses nearly at the extent of their powers. At 3.30 cross the bridge, and enter the gate of Monemvasía. My Dehli *Bashi*, Mehmét *Agá*, for these high titles are freely assumed by a Turk of the lowest rank when on a journey or absent from his superiors, conducts me without ceremony to the house of Hassán Bey, the governor, who is absent, and to whom he despatches a letter of recommendation which he brought from the vóivoda of Mistrá; in the mean time we take possession of the governor's house, which is pleasantly situated close to the sea. I receive a visit soon afterwards from the kadí and some of the other Turks.

March 27.—The name of Μονεμβασία is derived from its singular situation, which admits only of one approach and entrance [a] on the land side, over the bridge which connects the western extremity of the hill with the main land. The island is about half a mile in length, and one-third as much in breadth, its length forming a right angle to the direction of the main shore. The town is divided into two parts, the castle [b] on the summit of the hill, and the town [c], which is built on the southern face of the island, occu-

[a] μόνη ἔμβασις. [b] γούλα, or κάστρον. [c] χώρα.

pying one-third of it towards the eastern end. The town is inclosed between two walls descending directly from the castle to the sea; the houses are piled upon one another, and intersected by narrow intricate streets. Many of the buildings are of Venetian construction; there are about 300 houses in the town, and 50 in the castle: all, except about six, are Turkish. Before the Russian invasion of the Moréa there were 150 Greek families, but they, as well as the Greek inhabitants of the villages of this district, fled after that event to Asia, or to Petza, Ydhra, and the other islands. Some of them returned, after Hassán, the Capitán Pashá, had expelled the Albanians, who had marched into the Moréa against the Russo-Greeks; but the Vilayéti has never recovered its Christian population, and does not now contain more than 500 Greeks; its cultivation has of course diminished, and now produces little more of the necessaries of life, than are sufficient for its own consumption. Before the insurrection, corn and kalambókki were exported: the only exports now are about 500 kantárs of oil to Trieste, (the total quantity produced in the district being about 800 kantárs,) together with some figs, onions, and cheese.

The whole district is rocky and mountainous, except the plain of Finíki. The town is sup-

plied with fruit and vegetables from Veliés, a village on the hills, an hour west of Monemvasía, where are also a few vineyards, which produce a strong wine. That which gave rise to the name of Malmsey [a] has long been extinct here. All the coast in sight from the town is an uncultivable rock. To the south, the coast line is terminated by Cape Kamíli, a low narrow promontory, with a hummock upon it, supposed to resemble the back of a camel; Cape Maléa, or Maliá, rises above Cape Kamíli, being exactly in the same line from Monemvasía. To the north, the coast in sight is terminated by Cape Kremídhi, the extreme point of the bay of Paleá Monemvasía.

I visit a large monastery in the town, said to have been founded by the Emperor Andronicus Comnenus, which would make it a work of the twelfth century. The church is one of the largest in Greece, but is maintained in a state fit for the church service towards the altar only; of the rest of the building nothing is left but the bare walls; at the end opposite to the altar are the remains of two thrones, which were destroyed by the Turks after the Russian invasion. My ciceroni say they were the thrones of a king and queen, whose names they cannot tell me. It does not appear from Nicetas, that Andronicus passed

[a] Malvasía, a word corrupted from Monemvasía.

his exile in this part of the empire. There are some fragments of white marble lying in different parts of the church; one has two peacocks on it, with their tails spread;—below, an ox's head and a serpent, upon which one of the peacocks is treading. It is a work of the lower ages, probably of the same date as the church. There is one monk belonging to the monastery, and a small apartment for the bishop, who, though a metropolitan of high rank in the eastern church, is obliged, in consequence of the wretched state of this place, and the insult and extortion to which he would be exposed here from the Turks, to reside at Kalamáta, except at Easter, when he comes here to officiate at the festival. In virtue of an edict of the Emperor Andronicus, he assumes the place of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the synod, when the latter happens to be absent, and then sits above the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. His suffragan bishopricks are, Andrússa, Andrúvista, Platza, Miléa, Maíni, Kolokýthia, and Elos; all but the first and last are in Mani.

March 28.—Hassán Bey is not only governor of the fortress and vóivoda of the district, but captain also of the Sultan's galley, stationed here to clear the coast of pirates, and more particularly intended to preserve Mani in its present orderly state. He is not a little proud of

his exploits against the Maniátes. He has not left them, he says, a single tratta to carry on their depredations by sea. Two of their captured galleys, similar in construction to his own, but much smaller, are now lying here, drawn up on the beach just within the bridge. He affirms, that since he has been entrusted with this command he has blown up eighteen Maniate castles, and destroyed almost as many villages; only a few months since he took Marathonísi, after firing a prodigious number of shot into it, when he also captured 90 kantárs of powder, in barrels of 400 okes, and 40 kantárs of shot, which had been landed from a French brig of war. The same brig sailed from Mani to Crete, where another cargo was landed for the use of the Sfakhiotes, but which was also seized by the governor of Khánia [a]. Hassán receives from the Sultan for the maintenance of his galley 12,000 piastres a year, 100 kantárs of biscuit, and 10 kantárs of powder: the vessel mounts twelve guns, and has fifteen pair of oars. His services in this quarter are of ancient date; when the Capitán Pashá Hassán was sent to settle the affairs of the Moréa, after the Russian invasion, Hassán Bey marched from Marathonísi, which had been taken by the Pashá, across the *Taygetum* to Kitriés, where

[a] *Italicè*, Canea.

he shut up several of the Kapitanéi in a tower, and forced them to a capitulation. The Greeks, who rose in consequence of Orlov's proceedings, are stated by Hassán to have committed the greatest cruelties against the Turks, and it is well known that the expedition of Dolgorouki against Mothóni failed in consequence of their disorderly, or cowardly, conduct. The Albanians, who entered the Moréa on this occasion, amounted, according to Hassán, to 15,000, who themselves, alarmed at the great number of their countrymen that were following to share in the plunder, and supported by the government in their determination to admit no more, stationed parties at the isthmus, with orders to prevent any more Albanians from entering the peninsula. When the insurrection had been quelled, and peace made with Russia, the Albanians, who had committed and were continuing to commit the greatest excesses, were ordered to return home; but repeated firmahns having failed in producing obedience to this order, Hassán Bey accompanied the Capitán Pashá in his expedition against them, when they were totally defeated, and a pyramid of their heads was made near Tripolitzá: of the survivors, some joined the old colonies of their countrymen at Lalla and Bardhúnia, others entered into the service of the Pashá; only a few returned to Albania. Hassán speaks highly of

the services of the interpreter of the fleet, Mavroyéni, upon this occasion, particularly in the pacification of Mani: he was afterwards vóivoda of Moldavia, and was beheaded by a Grand Vezír Hassán, for which the vezír himself lost his head.

Hassán Bey's account of his wars in Máni is very amusing. It seldom happened, he says, that when he wished to destroy a village, he could not find some neighbouring village to assist him in the work, and generally under the guidance of a priest, upon condition of his having the stones of the ruins for a perquisite. Their own civil wars, Hassán says, are seldom very bloody, and months may pass without a single man being killed on either side. The women carry ammunition for their husbands or brothers, and it is a point of honour not to fire at them. To shew the respect in which Hassán's name is held in Mani, he shews me a poetical effusion which he has just received from thence, and in which he is described as gifted with every possible virtue. Poetry and piracy seem to be indigenous plants that will never be eradicated from Greece.

The Albanian dress is daily becoming more customary, both in the Moréa and in the rest of Greece: in the latter, from the great increase of the Albanian power; in the Moréa, probably

in consequence of the prosperity of Ydhra, which is an Albanian colony, and of the settlements of Albanian peasantry that have been made in some parts of the Moréa, particularly *Argolis*, as well as in the neighbouring provinces of *Attica* and *Bœotia*. The dress is lighter and more manageable than the Turkish or Greek. It is common for the Turks of Greece to dress their children as Albanians, though it would not comport with their own dignity and prejudices to adopt it themselves. Hassán's son is dressed à l'Albanoise ;—himself as a galionjí, or Turkish seaman.

I ride out this afternoon to Paleá Monemvasía, upon a handsome Egyptian horse, with which the governor provides me. The bridge is 536 feet in length; we cross it at 1.25, and proceeding northward along the shore, at 2.25 pass the ruins of a small Hellenic city, situated on the cliffs immediately above the beach; the place is called Old Monemvasía [a]. I have little doubt that the ruins are those of the ancient Epidaurus Limera, and that Monemvasía is the Minoa of Pausanias [b]. I proceed twenty minutes farther to some ruined magazines, situated under a peninsula, which forms a harbour on either side of it: that on the

[a] παλαιὰ Μονεμβασία. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.

south-west side is called the Port of Paleá Monemvasía, and that on the north, the harbour of Kremídhi; the latter is included between the peninsula and the great promontory of Kremídhi already mentioned. Monemvasía itself has no harbour; the galleys and boats are hauled up on the beach. At the magazines of Old Monemvasía there now lies the wreck of an Ydhriote ship, which was burnt by lightning two or three years ago. I ascend the peninsula, it is crowned with a tower, and terminates to the N.N.E. in a perpendicular precipice.

Returning, I examine the ruins of Epidaurus, of which Pausanias[a] says only, that "the town was situated on a height not far from the sea; and that the remarkable objects in it were sanctuaries[b] of Venus and Æsculapius, the latter containing an upright statue of marble; a temple[c] of Minerva, in the Acropolis, and another of Jupiter Soter, in face of the harbour[d]". The walls, both of the Acropolis and town, are traceable all round; and in some places, particularly towards the sea, they remain to more than half their original height. The town formed a sort of semicircle on the southern side of the citadel. The towers are some of the smallest I have ever seen in Hellenic fortresses; the faces ten feet, the flanks twelve: the whole

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.
[b] ἱερὸν.
[c] ναὸς.
[d] πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος.

circumference of the place is less than three quarters of a mile. The town was divided into two separate parts by a wall, thus making, with the citadel, three interior divisions. On the Acropolis there is a level space, which is separated from the remaining part of it by a little insulated rock, excavated for the foundations of a wall. I take this platform to have been the position of the temple of Minerva. On the site of the lower town, towards the sea front, there are two terrace walls, one of which is a perfect specimen of the second order of Hellenic masonry. Upon these terraces may have stood the temples of Venus and Æsculapius. There are, likewise, some remains of a modern town within the ancient inclosure, namely, houses, churches, and a tower of the lower ages.

After mentioning the port of Jupiter Soter, Pausanias immediately adds, "below the city a promontory extends into the sea, called Minoa. The bay does not differ from other retired shores of the Laconice, but the beach affords pebbles more beautiful in form, and which are of every variety of colour." The beach, in fact, consists of pebbles, and among them I find many colours[a]; though I question whether as

[a] Ἄκρα δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέχει, καλουμένη Μινώα. καὶ ὁ μὲν κόλπος οὐδέν τι ἔχει διάφορον ἢ ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄλλαι θαλάσσης εἰσὶν ἐσβολαί· αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ παρέχεται ψηφῖδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ χρόας παντοδαπῆς. Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.

varied a selection might not be made in many other parts of the Laconic coast. Of the harbour of Jupiter Soter, I cannot discover any remains; but this is not surprising, as upon such a shore it must have been artificial, and formed, as usual, by a mole projecting into the water, a work which might be easily covered, in the course of ages, by the accumulation of soil, or obliterated by the action of the sea, which, there is some reason to think, has gained upon this part of the Laconic coast. Ptolemy[a], by naming separately Minoa, the harbour of Jupiter Soter, and Epidaurus, in that order from south to north, would seem to place the harbour not exactly below the city, but rather more southward: there are no appearances, however, of a λιμὴν in either place. It may be thought, perhaps, that this deficiency, added to the objection which may be made to Monemvasía as the ancient Minoa, because it is an island, and not an ἄκρα, or promontory, is an argument against the ruins being those of Epidaurus. It must also be admitted, that the distance of 300 stades, placed by Pausanias between Cape Malea and Epidaurus, is beyond the reality when applied to this position, even if we were to consider the 300 stades as a road distance; and moreover that the words κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, by which Pausanias describes the position of Minoa relatively

[a] Ptolem. l. 3. c. 16.

to Epidaurus, are hardly such as apply to two places situated near four miles asunder. It seems evident, however, that if the ruins at Old Monemvasía were not those of Epidaurus, they must be ascribed to Epidelium, for the Epidaurii bordered on the Bœatæ, who occupied the extremity of the peninsula, and the only place on the coast southward of Minoa was Epidelium. This is the same place which Strabo [a], citing Artemidorus, calls Delium, and which he agrees with both Ptolemy and Pausanias in shewing to have been on the coast between Minoa and Malea. According to Pausanias, it was situated within the Bœatice, at 100 stades from Malea, and 200 from Epidaurus [b]. Epidelium, however, was nothing more than a sanctuary of Apollo, surrounded perhaps with a few habitations, and which did not exist until the Mithradatic war, when a wooden statue of the god was conveyed thither miraculously from Delus, on the occasion of that island having been taken and ravaged by Metrophanes, commander of the forces of Mithradates [c]. It is very clear that the ruins at Old Monemvasía could not have belonged to such a place, being those of a *polis* of considerable magnitude and antiquity.

As to the present insularity of Monemvasía, as inconsistent with the employment of the

[a] Strabo, p. 368. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23. [c] Id. Ibid.

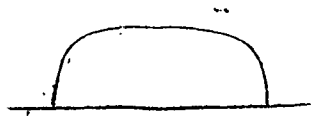
word ἄκρα by Pausanias, it is to be observed, that Nicetas, in the twelfth century, when the present town was in existence, describes it by the same word. Perhaps, therefore, both these authors thought ἄκρα not improperly applied to a rock so very near the shore; or it is not impossible that the sea may have recently gained upon the shore, and, by covering a narrow neck of sand, have converted a promontory into an island; for we have an undoubted example of such a change in the neighbouring district of Bœæ, where the promontory Onugnathus has now become an island, called Elafonísi.

Though Minoa would seem, from the silence of Pausanias, not to have been occupied in his time, it was a fortress at an earlier period of the Roman empire, as appears by the word φρούριον, which is applied to it by Strabo. During the insecurity of the middle ages, it very naturally became, not only a fortress, but an important town.

Upon the whole, therefore, I have no doubt that Paleá Monemvasía is the site of Epidaurus Limera, and that Epidelium occupied the position of Cape Kamíli, which being at about one third of the distance between Cape Maléa and Old Monemvasía, agrees with the proportion, at least, of the numbers of Pausanias. Cape Kamíli affords some shelter from the winds, and

is the only place on that part of the coast which is likely to have been chosen for a settlement.

It would seem from Coronelli, that the name of Epidaurus was still attached, in his time, to its ruins; but I cannot now learn any other name for them than that of Old Monemvasía. If Coronelli is correct, we must suppose that the Christian town, which the existing ruins prove to have stood on this site, continued to preserve the ancient name, until the place ceased to be inhabited. From the ruins I descend, on the south side, into the ravine of a torrent, which is cultivated with corn, and bordered by low rocks. A sloping road, about 100 yards in length, conducts into it down the side of the hill; the road is cut out of the rock, is just wide enough for a car, and still preserves some traces of wheels. The valley seems to have contained the sepulchres of the Epidaurii, a catacomb of this form being still seen in the rock, near a ruined church of the Holy Ghost[a].



Not far from it there is a large cavern made into a mandhra[b], by a wall in front. Nearer the

[a] τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. [b] sheepfold.

sea there is a marsh. Proceeding from the valley towards the shore, I arrive at Khranápes[a], a tjiftlik and garden, below which, bordering the sea-beach, there is a deep pool of fresh water, surrounded with reeds, about 100 yards long and thirty broad. This seems to be the "Lake of Ino, small and deep", which, according to Pausanias[b], "was two stades distant from a spot marked by some altars of Æsculapius, which were situated amidst wild olive trees, and were intended to commemorate the place where a serpent, brought from Epidaurus of Argolis by the first founders of Limera, disappeared in the ground, and thus furnished them with an omen decisive of the position of their future city." The garden, which is about a third of a mile southward of the ruins of Epidaurus, is inclosed within low rocks, and contains, among a variety of fruit-trees, a date, which is an uncommon production in Greece. The garden forms a pretty contrast with the rocky desert around, for in the surrounding country no cultivation is seen, except in a few places in the vale of the torrent of Epidaurus, as far up as the springs, which I passed, at 1.50, on the 26th. The sun having set when I return to the town, I find the gates shut, and am obliged to wait for the governor's order for their being opened.

[a] Χρανάπες. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.

March 29.—Cypresses are used at Monemvasía for making masts, they are procured from many parts of the district of Mistrá, especially towards the eastern coast. Fifty years ago, corn in this part of the Moréa was three kilós a piastre; it is now from ten to thirteen piastres a kiló. Captain George Kondurióti has received from the Capitán Pashá the office of collector of the kharatj in Ydhra, Poro, and 'Eghina, which will give him great influence in Ydhra, and tend to preserve order there. A Spetziote has lately returned from America with a cargo of sugar, rum, and coffee, which was sold at a vast profit. This may lead to many similar speculations. Ydhra has now 100 square rigged ships: at the beginning of the French revolution it had only a few latine vessels and fishing boats.

I ascend this forenoon to the kastro, or citadel. It is separated from the town by a perpendicular cliff, through which there is a zigzag ascent cut in the rock. Above the cliffs there is a considerable space of ground, not level, but sloping upwards, to the crest of the northern side, or back of the island. This space forms the castle, where ten or a dozen guns are mounted. There still exist some good cisterns and the remains of two or three hundred houses and magazines; among these is the ruin of a large church, which has been converted into a

mosque. The walls and batteries are in a most dilapidated state, and the place is entirely exposed to shells from the opposite mountain; some of those which were thrown by the Venetians are still lying on the ground.

Beyond Cape Kremídhi there is a more eastern projection of the same great promontory, not seen from Monemvasía, which is known in the Argolic peninsula and on the surrounding coasts by the name of Cape Iéraka [a]. Its name is derived from a small but well sheltered port on its north side, and is undoubtedly a corruption of Zarax, in the usual Romaic form of the accusative; Pausanias [b] tells us, that Zarax had a good harbour, and was situated 100 stades from Epidaurus Limera. It belonged to the Eleuthero-Laconic confederacy, but had never recovered from the destruction it suffered from Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis; in the time of Pausanias it contained only a temple of Apollo by the sea-side, with a statue of the god holding a guitar [c] in his hand. The Italians, when in possession of this part of the Moréa, found the position and the shelter of Port Iéraka so convenient to their galleys, that they fortified its entrance with a chain, in the fashion of those times, whence it became known to the Italians by the name of Porto

[a] Ἱέρακα, Γιέρακα. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 24. [c] κιθάρα.

Cadena, by which it is denoted in the Italian charts.

March 30.—Hassán's patron at Constantinople is Yusúf Efféndi, formerly ambassador in England, and now Tersané-Emini;—they have shared the mukatá of the vilayéti between them. This day a Tjohadár and Tartar arrive from Constantinople, bringing Hassán the information that the new vóivoda of Mistrá has been substituted for Yusúf in the farm for the present year, and requiring him to send the amount of his last year's contract to Constantinople. A servant of the new vóivoda arrives also from Mistrá, requesting Hassán's presence there. This man is a native of 'Edrene[a], has been as far as Bagdád, and in almost every other part of Turkey, speaks a little Italian, and wishes to enter my service as janissary.

April 1.—After having waited two days for horses from Sykiá, I set out this day at 11.5. At 11.25 turn out of the former road to the south, and follow the opening of the mountain, through which flows the torrent of *Epidaurus*. After passing for a quarter of an hour along the torrent bed, we cross over the lower part of the rocky mountain on the right hand into a little elevated and fertile hollow, inclosed by mountains, where, on the southern side of the

[a] Adrianople.

north-eastern hill, stands the village of Veliés, in a situation like that of a Hellenic town. Pausanias tells us that there was a temple of Diana Limnatis in the road from Bœæ to Epidaurus, and within the Epidauria[a]. This valley seems to agree with both those conditions. The undulated ground below the village is fertile, but cultivated only in part; there are many olive-trees round the village, and it contains several handsome pyrghi, but some of them are in ruins, and all are uninhabited. At a brook are the remains of gardens and fruit-trees. Both the towers and the gardens belong to Turks of Monemvasía, who, though half starved and clothed in rags, have inherited the notion, universal among the Musulmans of Greece, that it is the business of the rayáh to cultivate the land, and have, therefore, let their estates go to ruin; the massacres and persecutions which followed the insurrection excited by Russia, having deprived this corner of the peninsula of its Greek inhabitants. At 1.40, in passing Veliés, the rain coming on, I hasten forward towards my Konák[b], leaving the baggage to follow. The last two days there has been a strong gale[c] from the north, very cold, and sometimes almost amounting to a tempest[d]. This morning there was frost with a

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.

[b] Lodging at the end of a day's stage, or more properly quarters at the end of a day's march; every thing Turkish being military.

[c] ἄνεμος.

[d] φοϱτοῦνα.

clear sky, and much snow appeared on the adjacent mountains at the back of *Epidaurus*; but it soon changed to a sirocco, when the atmosphere immediately became charged with vapour.

The road continues over undulated cultivable ground among the mountains for half an hour, in the same direction as before, that is, south-westward; it then turns north, through an opening leading into the plain of Finíki. At 2.40 we pass a kalývia, pleasantly situated in the opening, and soon after look down into the plain, with the mountain of Beziané, and the villages Patissiá and Moláos before us; then, leaving Finíki on the slope to the right, we descend into the plain to the kalývia of Finíki, which is midway between the mountains of Finíki and Beziané, and about an equal distance from Kavo-Xýli: arrive at 3.30. The land is fertile, and produces corn, but near the villages only. As we approach the Finikiótika kalývia, the inhabitants fly and hide themselves. I soon get admission, however, into the best cottage in the village, in which the first object that meets my eye is an inscribed marble. The house is constructed, in the usual manner, of mud, with a coating of plaster; the roof is thatched, which is not a very common mode of covering the cottages in Greece. There is a raised earthen semicircle at one end for the fire, without any chimney; towards the other, a low partition,

formed of the same material as the walls, separates the part of the building destined for the family from that which is occupied by the oxen and asses used on the farm, one door serving for both apartments. The usual articles of furniture of a Greek cottage are ranged, or hung around, namely, a loom, barrel-shaped wicker baskets, plastered with mud, for holding corn, a sieve, spindles, some copper cooking-vessels, and two lyres [a]. The floor is the bare earth covered, like the walls, with a coat of dried mud. An oven attached to the outside of the building, and in the garden some beans, artichokes, and a vine trailed over the roof, indicate a superior degree of affluence or industry. The inscribed marble is inserted in the wall on one side of the door, and turns out to be an interesting monument. It was erected in honour of Caius Julius Eurycles, who, in the time of Strabo, was governor of Laconia [b], and was so powerful that the island of Cythera [c] was his private property [d]. His name is inscribed on the Lacedæmonian coinage in brass, struck under his government. Strabo adds, that Eurycles abused the friendship of the Roman emperor so much as to excite an insurrection,

[a] λύραις.
[b] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμών.
[c] Cerigo.
[d] ἐν μέρει κτήσεως ἰδίας.
Strabo, pp. 363. 366.

which, however, soon ceased in consequence of his death. Pausanias[a] tells us, that he built a magnificent bath at Corinth. On the present marble, unfortunately, the name of the dedicating city is not mentioned. The master of the cottage, when he returns home in the evening from his labour in the fields, tells me that he found the stone at Blitra, as they call some ruins near Kavo-Xýli, and that a Turk, who is now dead, advised him to convey it to his house: "But how do I know," he adds, "that it may not bring some mischief upon my house, having belonged perhaps to some church?" The Turk's reason for being unwilling to have any thing to do with the marble was because it had been a work of the infidels. The mischief contemplated by the Greek was my arrival with men and horses, which he thought would bring expense upon him, if nothing worse. While I was at dinner five oxen entered, and took up their abode for the night behind the low partition.

April 2.—This morning at 7.15, sending away the baggage by the direct road to Túrali, in the plain of Elos, I ride towards Kavo-Xýli, to see the ruins from which the marble was brought;—cross the plain, which is fertile, but

[a] Pausan. l. 2. c. 3.

little cultivated, and for the most part overgrown with bushes: a part of the land has been lately ploughed for sowing kalambókki and planting cotton, both which operations are performed in May. The grain is reaped in October. At half-way we cross a road which leads from the southward to Bozá and Elos. At 8.15 arrive at Blitra, on the eastern side of Cape Xyli, which is a high rocky peninsula, terminating in a low tongue of land, which projects from the peninsula on the southern side; on the summit of the hill stands one of the line of towers which once served to protect this coast. Eastward of the peninsula there is a deep inlet of the sea, and a good harbour, where, my conductor tells me, he has seen thirty-five ships lying; this being the safest anchorage in the gulf, though not so frequented as that of Marathonísi, on account of the want of commerce on this side. On the sea-shore, half a mile east of the peninsula, there are several quadrangular foundations cut in the rock, and extending into the water as far as I can see. Here also I find the remains of some public edifice, of which three or four courses of regular masonry remain, together with some large hewn blocks of white marble lying on the beach —a great quantity of pottery, two pieces of Doric columns of common stone, and eastward of the excavated foundations first mentioned,

part of a column, fluted half way down. In the same direction, half a mile distant from the ruins, there is a remarkable insulated peak of rock connected with the range of hills which border the coast to the southward. I cannot discover any remains of an acropolis. The ruins are called Blitra[a]; they occupy a point separating two inlets of the bay, of which that on the right is now called 'Arasma, or the anchorage, that on the left, or east, Skotínes.

Comparing Strabo and Pausanias, I think there can be no doubt that Blitra is the site of Asopus, for Strabo[b] thus describes the gulf to the eastward of Gythium:—first, "there is a marshy district with a town Helos, then a plain called Leuce, then a town *with a harbour* situated upon a *chersonese*, named Cyparissia, then Onugnathus, having also a harbour, then the city Bœæ, then Malea, to which last there is a distance of 150 stades from Onugnathus. There is also a city in the Laconice called Asopus[c]." Pausanias[d] tells us, that in the Acropolis of Asopus there was a temple of Minerva Cyparissia, and at the foot of the Acropolis[e] the ruins of the city of the Achæi Paracyparissii. The fact, therefore, seems to have been, that Asopus, Cyparissia, and

[a] Μπλήτρα.

[b] ἑλῶδες χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ἕλος. Strabo, p. 363.

[c] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀσωπὸς πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Ibid.

[d] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

[e] τῆς ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσί.

the city of the Paracyparissii were all the same place, of which Strabo, not having personally examined the coast, was ignorant. From what Pausanias says, it may be inferred that the summit of Kavo-Xýli was the Acropolis of Asopus, though nothing ancient is now to be seen upon it. He states the distance between the Cape Onugnathus, now the island Elafonísi, and Asopus at 200 stades [a], which is too much for a paraplus, as he seems to have meant, but about equal to the road distance. At about one fourth of the distance from Asopus, was Hyperteleatum, a place in the Asopian district sacred to Æsculapius. There was another temple of Æsculapius surnamed Philolaus, twelve stades inland from the city, for so I should interpret *ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως*. The only objects which the Greek traveller remarked in the city itself, were a temple of the Roman emperors and a gymnasium, in which were some bones of extraordinary size, which he supposed to have been human. From the ruins I mount to the summit of the northernmost point of the peninsula, an important geographical station. The name of Castro Rampani, given to this place in many charts, if it ever existed, is now obsolete. I can learn no

[a] "Ακρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀσώπου διακόσια στάδια· καλοῦσι δὲ Ὀνουγνάθου τὴν ἄκραν. Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

other name for the peninsula than that of Kavo-Xýli. At 9.50 we descend on the opposite side to Bozá, where, at 10.10, in the ruins of a large church called the Metrópolis, I find an inscribed marble of Christian time; others I am told have been carried away by the Maniátes. Near the church there is a small subterranean chamber with two circular openings in the roof, each formed of a single stone pierced with a round hole. The walls of the chamber are of small stones: I suppose it to have been a granary.

At 10.20, leaving Bozá, we proceed along the sea-side, and over the roots of the Beziané hill, descending in some places upon the sea beach, to the Molaítiko Pyrgo, another of the chain of coast towers: at 12 pass another ruined tower, and, 9 minutes after, the ruined church mentioned March 26th, where we quitted this lower road, and began to ascend the mountain. Proceed under the cliffs and along the sea-beach till 12.35, when, not being well guided, I find myself obliged to make a movement, partly retrograde, towards the right, in order to get into the road to Príniko on the other side of the marsh, the eastern end of which extends quite to the foot of the mountain. Thus, obliged to turn inland, I determine to proceed still further to the summit of a hill above Afídhia, where some ruins are seen. Pass through the kalývia

of Beziané, leave that village and many Veláni oaks[a] on the foot of the mountain to the right; mount the hill of Beziané, where are some tobacco grounds and gardens, and at length find the ruin on the hill, the object of my search, to be nothing more than one of the line of signal towers, and which was intended, apparently, to communicate on one side with the Castle of Mistrá, which is in sight from it, and on the other with Cape Xyli and the coast. The village of Afídhia, of thirty houses, is beyond a hill on the right of our road, as we descend towards Príniko, and is not in sight.—Cross a little cultivated valley, and there join the road from Afídhia to Príniko, —traverse some uncultivated hills, covered chiefly with wild olives and caroub trees,—pass by Príniko, and enter the plain of Elos at 3.

Thus I have failed in discovering any remains of Acriæ, which a comparison of Strabo and Pausanias clearly shews to have been on the coast between the plain of *Helos* and that of *Leuce;* for Strabo observes, that the Eurotas joined the sea between Acriæ and Gythium, and having thus noticed Acriæ, he does not again mention it when naming the places along the coast, Helos, Leuce, and Cyparissia, in the passage I have already cited. Pausanias thus speaks of the topography of this region[b]; —"To

[a] βελανιδιαῖς. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

the left of Gythium, thirty stades distant, are the walls of Trinasus on the main land, formerly, as it appears to me, a castle[a] only, and not a city. I suppose that it takes its name from three islands which lie before it. Eighty stades beyond Trinasus are the ruins of Helos, and thirty stades farther is the city Acriæ, upon the sea side." He then describes the inland places above Acriæ, after which he adds, that "towards the sea is the city Asopus, sixty stades from Acriæ;" he then proceeds to describe Asopus, and the places to the southward of it. As it cannot be doubted that *Leuce* was the plain which contains Finíki, Patissiá, &c., *Acriæ* must have stood on a part of the heights which border the coast between the plains of *Helos* and *Leuce*, and which are an abrupt termination in the gulf of the last roots of the great range which borders all the eastern side of the *Peloponnesus*. From its position on these heights[b], the town probably received its name. The distance of eighty stades between *Trinasus*, now Trínisa, and *Helos*, places the latter towards the eastern side of the plain of Elos, probably at Príniko, which is now the principal place in Elos, and in some respects the most advantageously situated of its villages. The ninety stades between Helos and Asopus will thus agree extremely well with the

[a] φρουρίου. [b] ἄκραι.

time distance between Príniko and Kavo-Xýli at the rate of thirty stades to the hour; and of this total, sixty stades, or two thirds of the whole distance from Príniko to Kavo-Xýli, will exactly place Acriæ at the ruined church, where, on March 26, I observed some fragments of ancient buildings and the base of a column, and which I reckoned at about three and a half miles from Príniko, thus according with the thirty stades of Pausanias between Helos and Acriæ. I certainly expected to have found some more unequivocal remains of Acriæ, where Pausanias has described a harbour, a fortification near it, a gymnasium, between the two last a monument of one of the citizens of Acriæ who had been five times victor in the foot race in the Olympic Stadium, and a very ancient temple and statue of the Mother of the Gods; but the maritime situation has probably been the cause of the disappearance of all its ancient materials, which may have been carried away by the Maniátes for their new buildings, or to repair the damages which their villages so often sustain in their intestine contests. We cross the plain of Elos in the direction of Trínisa, at a slow pace in consequence of the marshy ground, and at 4.40 arrive at Túrali, or Dúrali [a]. Here a Buyurdí of Hassán Bey, which I brought with me, procured me a konák in the house of the Hodjá-Bashi, a cot-

[a] Τούραλι.

tage some degrees better than that of yesterday.

April 3.—We set out at 7.28, and in four minutes ford the *Eurotas*, which is not rapid nor deep, reaching only to the stirrups. At Limóna[a], a village of huts made of mud and wicker, and not so large as Túrali, I stop ten minutes to examine the church, and to take a guide; then crossing the plain to the sea-beach, at our arrival upon it, pass a rivulet, and proceeding along the shore, arrive at 8.48 at the angle where the mountain advances to the sea: here are the ruins of a castle and a small stream. This is the boundary between Elos and Mani; at 9, passing round the head of a small creek, arrive at 9.5 at Trínisa[b]. Here is a pyrgo and three or four houses, on a projection of the rocky shore opposite to three rocks, from which the place has in all ages derived its name. The village belongs to Anagnósti Kritíra, who, in consequence of a letter sent to him by Hassán Bey, has come here from Marathonísi to meet me and offer refreshments: behind the houses are the ruins of one of the towers destroyed by the Turkish naval officers, Seremét and Hassán. At 9.17 we leave Trínisa: at 9.29 pass a mandhra in a small quarry, from whence seem to have been derived the materials of the walls of *Trinasus*, some remains of which are seen

[a] Λειμῶνα. [b] τὰ Τρίνησα.

a little farther on. The circuit of the place was not more than four or five hundred yards, which agrees with the remark of Pausanias, that Trinasus was rather a fortress than a town. Not only the lower parts of walls of the third order remain on every side, except towards the sea, but in the centre are the foundations also of some buildings of the same kind of masonry. Leaving the ruins at 9.48, we pass over a rugged mountain into a vale half a mile in breadth, where a marsh skirts the sea-beach. In the marsh are tamarisks; in the vale flax and corn; on the hills veláni oaks, and a few caroubs. We arrive at the end of the marsh at 10.17, traverse another rocky shore, and at 10.45, descending again upon the sea-beach, cross a stream flowing from a marsh in the corner of a small valley: at the end of which we pass under steep cliffs, where, at the height of thirty feet, I observe strata of rock formed of an aggregate of sea muscles. Under the cliffs, at 10.55, a copious spring is received into a cistern, and flows from thence through a stone conduit, for a third of a mile, to a mill in a little valley on the sea side. Soon afterwards we cross the valley of *Gythium*, leaving its ruins on the right; then ascend the side of the bare rocky hill, on the foot of which is situated the town of Marathonísi, and arrive there at 11.20.

CHAPTER VII.

LACONIA.

Marathonísi.—Gythium. — Mavrovúni.—Pássava.—Las.—Chorography of Mani and Bardhúnia.—From Marathonísi to Skutári.—Hypsi.—Rivers Smenus and Scyras.—Pyrrhichus.—Teuthrone.—From Skutári to Tzímova.

Marathonisi consists of 100 wretched houses of mud-brick, in the midst of which stands a large church, with the proud distinction of a spire and bell; higher up the hill they are building a tower for Andón, the present Bey of Mani, whose family residence being at Vathý, he has no house of his own at Marathonísi. Only two hours after my arrival, the Bey himself comes to anchor in his corvette belonging to the squadron of Seremét Bey, who is also expected shortly. As the Pyrgo on the hill is not yet finished, I am obliged, on the Bey's arrival, to remove from the lodging, which had been assigned to me in a house formerly belonging to Tzanét Bey, and the best in Marathonísi, into the house of Mr. W. of Buda, who practises medicine here, and has six piastres

a day to attend the Bey and his relations, together with some other persons of Marathonísi, who contribute to this stipend. His house consists of a ground floor, properly so called, being a floor upon the bare earth, over which there is an upper story divided into two apartments by a slender partition. Part of the sides and roof have been torn away by the shot which were fired by Seremét and Hassán when they besieged Tzanét Bey, and took from him the powder which the French had landed: it is now said that the Turks would not have reduced him, but for the influence of Andón's nephew, Demetrius Gligoráki, commonly called the Russian Knight[a], who joined him at Marathonísi with offers of assistance, and then induced him to capitulate.

The bey is an old unhealthy looking Greek, of a weak character, easily made to change his purpose by those around him. His five nephews came to visit him on his arrival; all of them, except the Cavaliere, live in this part of Maina. The Cavaliere is the eldest; then Constantine, surnamed Tzingurió, residing at Skutári; Ianáki, called Katzanó, usually resident at Skutári also, but who is commandant of Marathonísi in the bey's absence; and Ghiorghio and

[a] Ὁ Καβαλιέρης τῆς Μοσκοβίας.

Lambró, whose families are at Vathý. Tzingurió is a tall hard-featured man, with a pair of mustákia almost touching his shoulders, and a dagger and pistols of immense length in his girdle. He has made himself conspicuous in all the Maniate wars, and is looked upon as the greatest hero in Mani. Two sons-in-law of the bey also come to pay their court to him; Thódhoro Gligoráki, of Mavrovúni, a relation of the bey, and Constantine Zervó, a young man of Petrovúni. All these great characters honour me with visits. They are civil, but rather embarrassed in their manner, and deficient in that natural ease and politeness so remarkable in Turks, and generally also in Greeks. I am visited also by a cousin of the bey, Dhimitráki, of Mavrovúni. Andón Bey's real name is Antony Grigoráki, or Gligoráki; Ἀντώνιος, pronounced Andonios, being Turkified into Andón to fit the Turkish title of Bey, which he assumes as commander of a Turkish corvette, and the Capitán Pashá's deputy in the government of Mani. Tzanét, pronounced Djanét, is in like manner a corruption of Ianni, or Ἰωάννης. Andón is the first cousin of Tzanét Bey, commonly called by the Turks Djaním Bey, who was expelled by the Turkish admiral for having corresponded with the French, and received gunpowder from them. Tzanét is now

living at Vakhó, between Skutári and Tzímova. His son, Petro Bizandé (a word corrupted from the Turkish Bey-Zaade), is the hope and admiration of all the opposite party. He has been three years in France, and when he returned was dressed à la Françoise. Even his opponents speak with respect of him. He has two brothers, Grigório and Dhimitráki. The majority of the Maniátes are said to wish for the restoration of the family of Tzanét Bey; but they are kept in submission to Andón by Seremét and his squadron. Even those captains who are Andon's known enemies obey his orders at present. These reside chiefly about Cape Matapán, and between Vítylo and Skardhamúla. The latter have been lately brought into order by the Cavaliere, who governs at Kytriés in the bey's absence, and, many say, equally so in his presence.

An affair, which happened two months since at Vathý, shews the state of society in Mani. The son of a priest had by accident killed a boy, a relation of another priest. The latter papás declared war against the former, which is done in Mani in a formal manner, by crying out in the streets. The first papás went to his church to say mass with pistols in his girdle; such being a common custom in Mani; but, as is usual in such cases, he laid them behind the

altar, on assuming the robe in which the priest performs divine service. The other papás entered the church with some of his party, and the instant the office was concluded, walked up to his enemy, who was still in his robes, and fired a pistol at him, which flashed in the pan: the latter, then running behind the altar, seized his arms, shot his enemy and one of his adherents, and drove all the rest out of the church. The affair was then settled by the interposition of the bey himself, in whose village it had happened. A composition in money, for the balance of blood, is the only efficient mode of making peace in these cases. When one of a family is slain, the person who takes upon him to revenge the injury often vows not to change his clothes or shave or eat meat till his revenge is satisfied.

Next to the captains[a], the priests[b] are the chief men in the Maniáte wars, both in council and field; and in the quarrels which so frequently occur between separate villages or families, they are generally the promoters and leaders of the strife. To pull down the adversary's house is generally the object and end of the war. The sufferer is then conquered, and seldom ventures to prosecute hostilities.

[a] Καπιτάνοι, or Καπιτανέοι. [b] Παπάδες.

A Maniate cannot fire without resting his musket, on account of its length, but he is an excellent marksman in his own manner. The Albanians are the same, and for this reason they cannot easily be disciplined without a change in their arms. Like the Albanians, the Maniátes seldom venture to face their enemy in the field, but fire from behind houses, rocks, and trees. This must, in fact, be the case wherever no discipline exists, as no individual can depend upon the conduct of his neighbour; in short, their preference of a musket which has a long range, and their mode of fighting, are the reciprocating effect and cause of their state of society. The Maniátes seem to be more addicted to assassination than the Albanians, though in Albania almost any mode of getting rid of an enemy is thought justifiable. The Maniátes, however, shew great courage and obstinacy in their own way; and these qualities are held in the highest estimation among them. Even the women emulate the men in this respect. It is not long since a woman of Mount *Taygetum* stood a siege in her pyrgo, against a body of Turks; she fired upon them from the windows, and kept them employed on one side, while, at the back, she sent away in safety a female servant with two children. Though her ammunition was in reality all spent, the Turks

retired, fearing that she would blow up the tower if they assaulted it.

A Frenchman named P. L. made his appearance here ten days ago, coming from Ydhra in a boat hired express. His inquiries were for Tzanét Bey, which induced the commandant to search his baggage for papers, when none being found, he was allowed to depart for Koróni, special care being taken that he should not see Tzanét Bey. Luckily for the Frenchman, none of those who were present at the search, except my host the Hungarian, observed a rouleau of money in his girdle.

The principal inhabitants of Marathonísi are relations or agents of the chief Greeks of Mistrá. Of these the first is P., whose brother I knew at Mistrá. He has resided here ten years, has been at Leghorn, speaks Italian, and has enriched himself by advancing money, in small sums, to the peasants at an exorbitant interest. To those who gather the vallonéa[a] on the mountains he allows thirteen or fourteen piastres the milliaja (ten cwt.), in acquittance of their debts to him. As all the vallonéa for exportation is monopolized by the Bey, at a price which is fixed this year at twenty piastres the milliaja, P. cannot obtain more from the Bey, by the sale, than the difference of six or seven; but as the involved state of

[a] βελανίδι.

Andón's affairs, in consequence of the large sums he has paid the Porte, has rendered him dependent upon P., he is obliged to allow the latter to repurchase the vallonéa from him at twenty-five, and to place the difference of five against the debt which he owes to P., who then sells the vallonéa to the ships that carry it away, at about thirty-five. All the profit above twenty, the Bey, if he had a capital, might enjoy, as he possesses an acknowledged monopoly of the vallonéa, which, as it requires no outlay for cultivation, and is subject to scarcely any natural injury, except from a fall of rain in August, would ensure to the Bey a large revenue, if he were able to avail himself of the advantages of his position. The greater part of the vallonéa trade of Greece is in the hands of the house of Kyr E. of Ioánnina, who has a brother settled at Leghorn, and another at this place. The latter has contracted for all the last year's crop, part at thirty, the rest at thirty-five. Three millions of pounds will be exported. The vallonéa of Mani is generally one-third higher in price in the European market, than any other. A great part of it goes to England.

Mani, in abundant years, produces 8000 or 10,000 barrels of oil, of 48 okes, the greater part of which is grown on the western side, between Vítylo and Kalamáta. It is reckoned

better than that of Sálona and Athens, and is carried to the Black Sea, Italy, and Trieste. Mani used formerly to produce 180,000 okes of cotton, but the civil wars and a want of industry, both of which have increased of late years, have reduced the produce, even in good years, to a third of that quantity; it is sent to the Archipelago and the Seven Islands. The produce of silk is 2000 okes, which goes to Mistrá, to the Islands, and sometimes to Leghorn and Barbary. Mani and Bardhúnia together produce 20,000 okes of galls. The other exports are honey, of which there are produced 10,000 okes, the greater part for Constantinople, Candia, and the Islands, the wax to Leghorn. There are two crops of honey, one in the winter, and another in the summer. Salted quails, put into bags of lamb-skin, are carried to Constantinople and the Islands. In abundant years, two ship-loads of small horse-beans are exported to Italy. In such seasons the Maniátes have corn and kalambókki sufficient for their support, and with industry and good management might almost always ensure it. At present they are in a wretched state, and have neither corn nor money. The Bey has the monopoly of oil as well as of vallonéa. A price is fixed, which varies according to the demand, and to the price current in the market

to which the oil is destined; but from this privilege, likewise, the Bey's embarrassments prevent him from deriving much advantage. The kharátj of Mani amounts to 17,000 piastres, of which 15,000 go to the Porte, and 2,000 to the Capitán Pashá. The duties on exports are 3 per cent., but little is derived from the customs outward, as oil and vallonéa pay nothing. A rough calculation of the value of the exports of Mani in ordinary years, gives about forty thousand pounds sterling. The Bey sells the collection of the customs, at each port, to the best bidder every year: for that of Marathonísi, he obtained this year 2,000 piastres.

The Maniátes reckon their population at 30,000, and their muskets at upwards of 10,000. In estimating the number of muskets, we may assume the largest possible proportion to the whole population, because scarcely any person passes from one village to another, if it be but to drive an ass loaded with wood, or for the labours of agriculture, without a musket slung behind him, or, at least, a dagger and pistols at his girdle,—sometimes both. There are about 400 Maniate sailors serving in the ships of Ydhra; one small ship and about fifty coasting boats form the entire commercial marine of Mani. The villages are reckoned at 117 in number; few of them are very small, there are

none like the tjiftliks of the Turkish districts of Greece, and early marriages are common; so that an average of forty-five or fifty houses to a village, and of six persons to a family, which would nearly give the population just mentioned, does not seem excessive: and this is probably a tenth or twelfth of the whole population of the Moréa.

The remains of *Gythium*, called Paleópoli, are situated in a valley terminating in the sea, and enclosed by mountains prettily broken, partly cultivated and partly covered with Veláni oaks. The town was situated on some low hills, in a small triangular plain, inclosed between them and the sea. On one side of the principal height flows a torrent. Ninety yards inland from the shore are the remains of a theatre, constructed of a semi-transparent kind of white marble, of a very coarse grain, and marked with broad parallel streaks of brown. There are several pieces of the displaced seats on the side of the hill which supported the theatre, and below, at one of the angles, a small part of the two lower rows is still in its place. The total diameter appears to have been about 150 feet. Behind, on the eastern side of the principal height, I observe several remains of buildings in the Roman style, with tiles and mortar, and some with courses of rough stones between

layers of mortar. The most distant ruin inland is that of a long building divided longitudinally into two, each division having an arched roof, which has fallen. There are also the remains of some baths, one of which has several semi-domes of tiles and mortar plastered within, in such a manner as to represent a great cockle-shell. Other masses of Roman remains are seen towards the sea; and on a small projection of the coast line of the bay, just below the theatre, are some foundations of large buildings projecting into the water, which, it is said, may in calm weather be traced at the bottom for a considerable distance. A little within this ruin I found a cornice of the same kind of white marble of which the theatre was built. In the plain the ancient remains are intermixed with corn-fields and mulberry trees, and here coins and fragments of architecture and sculpture are often brought to light by the peasants. Marathonísi has been in great measure built of these materials; an architrave was found with a Latin inscription, not long since, lying between the theatre and the sea, which my conductor then saw, but now searches for unsuccessfully; it has been used perhaps in building the Bey's new pyrgo. One is not surprised at finding the remains of Gythium to consist in great part of Roman buildings, as it is evident, from what we

know of the Eleuthero-Laconic towns, of which Gythium was one, that Spartan tyranny had reduced them to misery before Augustus separated them from the government of Sparta, and that they chiefly flourished under the Roman emperors. Gythium, moreover, which more anciently had been the port of Sparta, continued under the Romans to be much employed as the principal *navale* in this sea. Strabo says, that it possessed an excavated port [a], of which I do not see any appearance. The geographer, however, by adding the expression ὥς φασι, shews that he had never visited the place himself. It is remarkable that none of the buildings now remaining excited the notice of Pausanias [b], and that he does not even mention the theatre. He describes only statues of Apollo, Hercules, and Bacchus, in the Agora, and in another part of the town a statue of Apollo Carneius, a temple of Ammon, a roofless temple of Æsculapius containing his statue in brass, a well [c] sacred to the same deity, a temple of Ceres, a statue of Neptune Gæauchus, and another of Nereus, surnamed the old man [d]. Near the latter were gates called Castorides [e]. In the Acropolis there was a temple of Minerva containing a statue of the goddess.

[a] ναύσταθμον ὀρυκτὸν, p. 363.
[b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 21.
[c] πηγὴ.
[d] ὁ Γέρων.
[e] πύλαι Καστορίδες.

Of the places near Gythium, Pausanias[a] thus speaks, "Three stades distant from Gythium is the stone Argos, upon which Orestes, when seated, is said to have been relieved from his madness. Hence it is called in the Doric tongue, λεὺς κάππωτας[b]. Before Gythium lies the island Cranae. The adjacent part of the continent is called Migonium, from the union of Alexander[c] and Helen, which, according to Homer[d], first took place in this island. There is a temple of Venus Migonitis in Migonium, built, it is said, by Alexander. Above Migonium rises a mountain, sacred to Bacchus, called Larysium, where, in the beginning of spring, they celebrate a festival of Bacchus, asserting, among other reasons for so doing, that they then find a ripe bunch of grapes upon the mountain." Thirty stades from Gythium, according to the same author, on the left of the direct road to Sparta, were the remains of Ægiæ, by Homer called Augeiæ, where was a lake called the lake of Neptune, and on its shore a temple and statue of the god."

It is almost unnecessary to remark that the *island* Marathonísi[e] is the ancient Cranae, that

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

[b] i. e. λᾶς καταπαυσας, the relieving stone.—Ζεὺς κάππωτας, Jupiter the reliever, is another reading of these words.

[c] Paris. [d] Il. Γ. v. 445.

[e] Fennel-island.

the *town* Marathonísi, on the opposite shore, stands on the site of Migonium, and that the hill which rises above it, now called Kúmaro, is the ancient Larysium. From the foot of this hill, between Marathonísi and the valley of Paleópoli, a copious stream of water issues into the sea; its taste is brackish, which may be partly occasioned by the waves washing into the cavern from which it issues. Above it, on the left of the road to Paleópoli, I find an inscription on the rock, in small and very ancient characters, and behind the latter, on the side of the mountain, a chair with a foot-step, hewn in the rock, and resembling the chairs at Athens, in the rocks near the Pnyx. This excavation, I take to mark the position of the Leus Cappotas, as the distance of three stades agrees very well with that of the chair from the ruins of Gythium.

It seems very possible that Ægiæ, written Ægææ by Strabo, stood in the valley, about midway between Trínisa and Marathonísi, where a marsh along the shore seems to correspond to the Lake of Neptune[a]. Supposing the road from *Sparta* to *Gythium* to have crossed the lower part of the Bardhúnian hills, leaving the summits to the right, it may have reached the coast between Trínisa and this valley, and

[a] λίμνη Ποσειδῶνος.

thus, passing along the coast from thence by the same track which I followed, have left Ægiæ on the right; and this direction of the road is the more probable, as the vale of Gythium is of difficult access, except along the coast, or by a narrow pass at the head of the valley, which leads, not towards the plain of Mistrá, but south-westward, into that of Pássava. Another place, on the road from Gythium to Sparta, remaining to be discovered is Croceæ, where was a quarry of hard pebbles, very beautiful when wrought. It was probably the same quarry to which Strabo alludes, when he says, "There are some quarries of handsome marble [in Laconia]; those of Tænarian stone, in Tænarus, are ancient; but a large mine has lately been opened in Taygetum by certain persons who have been prompted to it by the magnificence of the Romans." Pausanias describes a figure of Jupiter Croceatas in marble, as standing before the town [a], and brazen statues of the Dioscuri at the quarry. But he does not give us the distance of Croceæ, either from Sparta or from Gythium.

The hills above *Gythium* and Trínisa, as well as those of *Laconia* in general, abound, in all the uncultivated parts which are not shaded with forest-trees, with the holley-leaved oak shrub, from which is gathered the prinokókki, or scarlet

[a] πρὸ τῆς κώμης.

dye, exported from Marathonísi by the merchants of Mistrá. The prinári, or prinus of the ancient Greeks, is of every size, from a great forest tree to a low shrub: but it is only from the shrub, I believe, that the grain is gathered [a].

[a] From the Arabic word for this production, el kermes, the Italian *cramosino* and our *crimson* are derived. The modern Greek word πρινοκόκκιον is exactly conformable to the description of the substance by Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. l. 3. c. 8.), who says, ἡ πρῖνος τὸν φοινικοῦν κόκκον φέρει. As it is formed by an animal of the same kind as that which produces the cochineal, gall, &c., naturalists have given the name of coccus to that genus. That the coccus was an animal formation was known to Pausanias, who, as well as Dioscorides, applies the word κόκκος to the shrub. Pausanias thus describes it (Phocic. c. 36.): "In the country of the Ambryssenses, there is an abundance of the thorn which the Ionians and other Greeks call coccus [ἡ κόκκος], but which the Gauls above Phrygia name ὖς [houx]. In size it equals the ῥάμνος, [according to Sibthorp the lycium Europæum,] the leaves are blacker and smoother than those of the lentisk [σχῖνος], in other respects it resembles that plant: the fruit is like that of the night-shade [στρύχνος], but in size is equal to the vetch [ὄροβος]. On this there breeds a small insect, which, if it be left in the air till the fruit is ripe, becomes a fly resembling the gnat [κώνωψ]: the fruit of the coccus therefore is gathered before the fly is hatched, and its blood is then a dye for wool." It is singular that Pausanias should not have observed, that the fruit of the shrub is an acorn; he is mistaken also, or at least expresses himself very negligently, in confining the animal to the fruit only, as it is found attached in greatest quantity to the leaves and small branches. Though the vermilion is far from being equally plentiful in all situations, the shrub is one of the most common on the uncultivated hills of Greece, and is generally found in company with the lentisk [σχῖνος], which

April 7.—I am informed that ships at Marathonísi water generally at a well not far from the theatre at Paleópoli, which has the reputation of yielding the best water in the neighbourhood. This I did not see, which I regret, as it seems to be the well of Æsculapius, mentioned by Pausanias. Those who are not very nice, fill their casks at the mill mentioned April 3d, 10.55, where the water is nearer the shore, and more accessible. I walk this afternoon to Mavrovúni [a], a village situated on a promontory, one mile and a half to the southward of Marathonísi: it overlooks the plain of Pássava, which extends for three or four miles along the shore, and to an equal distance in the interior. Both the plain and the hills around it are well cultivated, and have several pyrghi and small villages upon them. Further westward, a long root of Mount *Taygetum* stretches to the south, called Makryaráki, or Long-ridge [b]; it is covered with a forest of the veláni-oak, and is supposed to produce half the vallonéa shipped at Marathonísi: behind this are seen other higher mountains, extending to the gulf of Koróni, which are connected northward with the great

which it somewhat resembles. Whence it appears that the comparison of Pausanias was peculiarly proper, and that those commentators are in the wrong who propose to substitute πρῖνος for σχῖνος in the preceding passage.

[a] Μαυροβούνι.

[b] Μακρυαράχη.

summits of Mount *Taygetum*, of which the southernmost peaked one, probably the ancient *Taletum*, is the most remarkable object in view: it is known in Mani by the name of Makrynó. At the foot of the peak, to the westward, stood Pigádhia, now ruined, the native village and retreat of the robber Zakharía, long the terror of the Moréa. To the south, the peninsula of Cape Matapán is just seen, nearly hid by Cape Kremidhará, which forms the southern side of the bay of Vathý. On the northern side of the same bay is Cape Petalí, situated a mile or two north of Vathý, from whence begins the sandy beach of the plain of Pássava, which runs in an easterly direction to Mavrovúni. The mountains to the northward of Cape Matapán are seen very obliquely, their direction like the great root of *Taygetum* in the northern part of Mani, being nearly north and south; the southern part of this great promontory is entirely separated from the rest of the range of *Taygetum* by a hollow undulated country, lying between Skutári and Vítylo, where are situated the villages of Karyópoli, Vakhó, and several others, some of which are in sight from Mavrovúni. The northern part of this southern division of *Taygetum*, which anciently must have had some separate name, is very high, and has now some snow upon it. It terminates to the north in a remark-

able cliff, near the southern side of Porto Vítylo, called Ai-Eliá.

The village of Mavrovúni is reckoned the largest on the eastern side of Mani, though it does not contain many more than 100 families. It was built by Tzanét Bey, and is hence sometimes called Tzanetúpoli. It was Tzanét, also, who built the town of Marathonísi, on a site before called Melissi, naming it after the adjacent island, which forms the port. There are three or four pyrghi in Mavrovúni, and at the top of the hill stands the castle of Tzanét, now deserted. It has a flat roof with battlements, and stands in a court surrounded with a wall, defended by battlements and round towers; the rain which falls on the roof of the house and on some platforms in the area, supplies a cistern below it. There are rooms fitted à la Turque,—a large kitchen, and apartments for the suite. P. tells me, that Tzanét Bey used to ring a bell at supper time, and give food to all those who came to him. Part of the house has been beaten down by his enemies, but little damage seems to have been done to the principal apartments.

From hence I proceed to the pyrgo of Thódhoro, Andón's son-in-law, with a note of introduction from the Bey. I am treated, as usual in Greek visits, with sweetmeats, cold water, pipes, and coffee, in that order. Thódhoro

seems to be the most humanized of his family. The lady of the house is gone to Marathonísi to see her father; I meet her, on my return, riding on a mule with several attendants. Mavrovúni commands a fine view of all the coast from the island Cerígo [a] to Trínisa. From the position, one should expect an ancient site; but I cannot perceive any indications of it: nor does Pausanias give any reason to look for one here.

April 8.—I set out to visit the ruins of Pássava at 8.10, proceeding along the side of *Larysium* as far as Mavrovúni. The priests of Bacchus would find it difficult now to discover a bunch of grapes upon this mountain at any season, or any thing but a few stunted shrubs of lentisk and prinári. It is said, however, even in the memory of persons now living, to have produced some olives, which have been destroyed in the Maniate wars. I cannot now perceive even an arbutus to justify the modern name of Kúmaro. At 8.38 Mavrovúni was a little on our left. Here some delay occurred, while the owner of a horse which I had hired, fetched his musket from the village. We then descend into the plain of Pássava; at 8.52 lose fifteen minutes in searching for a fresh horse for one of the servants, at a mandhra. At 9

[a] Τζερίγος.

cross a deep torrent-bed in the middle of the eastern branch of the plain, and pass over the hills which divide the two branches of the plain, and which run directly up from the sea into Bardhúnia; we then descend into the western branch, through which flows the river of Pássava, deep and rapid, coming from the higher *Taygetum*. We cross this stream, where it is joined by a smaller river from the west, and in a quarter of an hour ascend another range of low hills, on which are several dispersed huts and pyrghi, all known by the name of Καστζιαουνιάνικα. At one of these, my conductor stops to drink wine. Soon after, we halt fifteen minutes at one of the hamlets, where is a pyrgo belonging to Lambró, son-in-law of one of the Bey's nephews, and then descend the hill into a little narrow valley, well-cultivated with corn, and watered by a stream called Turkóvrysi, which joins the sea not far from Vathý. Its source is a pool midway between the fort of Pássava and the village of Kárvela, which latter stands one mile and a half west of Pássava. After flowing through a narrow vale, which extends from Kárvela to the foot of the hill of Pássava, the stream passes through a gorge, which divides the hill of Pássava from the Makryaráki, then turns south through the vale, where we cross it on the

eastern side of Pássava, and reaches the sea between Cape Petalí and Vathý. Towards the sea a ruined pyrgos of the Cavaliere is visible on a hill, and Vathý on an opposite cape.

After passing the Turkóvrysi at 10.28, I ascend on foot the hill of Pássava, which resembles that of the castle of Mistrá, but with less than half its dimensions. The summit is occupied by a ruined fortress, consisting of a battlemented wall, flanked with one or two towers, and without any ditch. Within are the remains of gardens and houses, and the ruins of one building of larger size. In the eastern wall, towards the southern end, I find a piece of Hellenic wall, about fifty paces in length, and two-thirds of the height of the modern wall. It is formed of large masses, some of four feet long and three broad, not accurately hewn as in the second order, nor quite rude as in the first, and requiring only here and there a small stone in the interstices. There are no stones so large as many of those at Tiryns and Mycenæ. In a corn field, below the wall, I find a fragment of a large ancient vase, an inch and a half in thickness; it was a part of the edge of the vase's mouth; round it are the letters of a very ancient form.

From these remains, slight as they are, it

cannot be doubted, I think, that Pássava was the site of *Las*, distant, as Pausanias[a] tells us, ten stades from the sea, and forty from Gythium, for these data agree very well with Pássava, and it is satisfactory to find remains indicating a remote antiquity on the site of a city which contributed to the Trojan expedition, and which is connected with the earliest transactions of the Laconic mythology. The Dioscuri were called Lapersæ from having besieged and taken Las[b]. The Bey's secretary, indeed, who had heard of Las, or, as he called it, Laspolis, endeavoured to persuade me that it was situated at a place in Bardhúnia, two hours and a half from Marathonísi, though he could not say whether there are any remains on the spot he mentioned. If there are, it was, perhaps, the site of *Croceæ*.

From the summit of Pássava are seen, on the neighbouring mountains, the following villages, beginning from the right: Parakhóra, Kárvela, Skamnáki, Pánitza. At Skamnáki, ancient coins and sepulchres are said to be found. These villages lie in a line between the N.W. and W. The district is called Malévri, it extends westward as far as that of Vítylo, and comprehends Kélefa, where is a ruined Vene-

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 24. [b] Strabo, p. 364.

tian fortress at the head of Porto Vítylo; southward it confines upon Tzímova, Vakhó, and Skutári. Between south-west and south, proceeding in the same direction along the mountains, are Karyópoli, Khóriasi, Neokhóri, Tzérova, Parásiro. On the side of the hill of Pássava I perceive several of the plants in flower, of which the Bishop of Mistrá gave me a dish one day at his table. Having stripped off the leaves, they dress the centre of the stalk, which is tender, and resembles asparagus; when the flower is formed, the season is past. The plant is called here *πετζιγκιάγκον*, but at Mistrá maniátes, as coming from the mountains of Máni. To botanize[a] in search of esculent wild herbs in the spring and early summer, is a common occupation of the women of Greece, those herbs forming an important part of the food of the poor during the fasts of that season. In the summer they have no such resource, and in the long fast which precedes the feast of the Panaghía, on the 15th of August S. V., the *patient* has little but the gourd tribe to depend upon. The summer productions of the garden, however, which depend on irrigation, such as gourds, cucumbers, badinjáns, water-melons, &c. are too dear for the poor, or rather are not to be had, as gardening,

[a] *νὰ βοτανίζω.*

the produce of which is so liable to be plundered, can never flourish in a country where property is so insecure as in Turkey. The chief food of the lower classes, therefore, in the summer fast is salted star-fish, olives, goat's cheese, and bread of maize, seasoned with a garlic or onion, and washed down perhaps with some sour wine. No wonder that the great summer's fast sometimes proves fatal, especially to women. The inconvenience is felt in its full force in Mani, where the greatest rigour is observed as to fasts. I was present at Dr. W.'s, when a son of the Cavaliere came for some remedy for his mother, who had a sore throat. The doctor recommended a gargle of milk, which the youth rejected with horror. He then applied to be blooded, though in perfect health, this being a common practice among them in the spring.

The name of Pássava is applied to all the coast between Mavrovúni and the end of the sandy beach, where begins the hill of Vathý, and inland as far as the end of the plain. Returning to Marathonísi, I take the road which leads by Paleópoli, instead of that by Mavrovúni: mounting my horse at 11.55 at the stream of Turkóvrysi, near the ruins of a Turkish bath, I pass through the hills at the foot of the Makryaráki, and arrive at 12.24 at Petrovúni,

a rocky height near the north end of the district of Pássava, not far from the right bank of the river of Pássava, or river of Arna, as it is often called, from a Bardhúnian village of that name near its sources. Having crossed the river, I find, not far from the left bank, some ancient foundations, and a small unfluted column lately brought to light by the rain. Soon afterwards we enter the gorges between Mount Kúmaro and the hills which border the vale of *Gythium* on the north, and at 1.22 descend into that valley. The pass is difficult, and there is no road practicable for a horse. In several places there remain ancient steps cut out of the rock: at a steep descent, where the side of the rock is cut down perpendicularly, there are fifteen steps quite perfect winding to the right. At the highest part of the pass, from whence both valleys are visible, there are remains of a signal tower. I search in vain for an ancient aqueduct which was described to me. At 1.49 leave the foot of the pass, and at 2.14 arrive at Marathonísi.

April 9.—The Bey introduces me to one of the leading men of Mesa Mani[a], a district more commonly known beyond its limits by the name of Καπαβουλία, or the land of Evil Counsel; so

[a] Middle Mani.

notorious are its inhabitants for plundering the unfortunate sailors who are cast on their tempestuous, rocky, and unsheltered coast, as well as for more active enterprises of robbery and piracy. This person engages to the Bey for my safety in every part of Mesa Mani, and undertakes to conduct me by land to some ruins at Kypárisso, which, by the description of the place, must be those of Tænarus, or the city of the Tænarii.

Mani is divided into three parts; Outer, Lower, and Inner[a]. The first contains the western coast between the frontier of Kalamáta on the north, to Port Vítylo on the south, together with the interior as far as the summits of *Taygetum*. Its total number of towns and villages are about fifty, in the subdivisions of Zarnáta, Andrúvista, Miléa or Miliá, and Zygós, each of which is a bishoprick. Zarnáta borders on Kalamáta, and lies between the sea-shore and the summits of *Taygetum*, extending as far south as Cape Kúrtissa: the chief place is Stavropíghi. Andrúvista inland, and Skardhamúla near the sea, are the chief towns of the bishoprick of Andrúvista. This division lies exactly at the foot of the Makrynó, or highest summit of *Taygetum*; it extends southward along the coast to Zygós, and borders inland on Miléa,

[a] Ἔξω Μάνη, Κάτω Μάνη, Μέσα Μάνη.

which occupies the interior ridges, and confines eastward upon Bardhúnia. In its northern part Kastánitza is the principal place. To the southward are the towns of Kastaniá, Arákhova, Miléa, and Garbeléa. Zygós contains the slope of the mountains adjacent to the coast, from Leftro inclusive to Port Vítylo. Its chief towns are Pyrgo to the northward, Platza in the middle, and Vítylo to the south. Vítylo, however, being separated naturally from the rest of Zygós by a projecting root of the central ridge, and being independent of the captain of Zygós, is often considered a separate district.

2. Mesa Mani comprehends the remainder of the western coast, as far as the peninsula of Cape Matapán, and extends inland to the summit of the mountain, which is separated from the rest of the great Laconic promontory by the pass of Karyópoli, or that opening which reaches from about Skutári on the eastern coast, to Porto Vítylo on the western. Mesa Mani is chiefly a kind of rugged elevated plain, from two to four miles in breadth, lying between the mountain and a range of lofty cliffs which border the coast. This division of Mani has about thirty-five villages, of which Tzímova, at the northern extremity, is the largest; though its inhabitants, with those of five villages near it, are anxious to be considered separate from the re-

mainder of Inner Mani, which forms more particularly the Kakavulía, or land of Evil Counsel.

3. Kato Mani contains about forty-five villages, and includes the whole eastern coast, from Porto Kaio to the Plain of Elos. It borders upon Mesa Mani as far as the pass of Karyópoli, and upon Exo Mani to the northward of that opening. At the northern extremity it confines upon Bardhúnia, which occupies, on the eastern side of *Taygetum*, the space corresponding to the northern part of Exo Mani on the western. The subdivisions of Kato Mani are Marathonísi, Skutári, Malévri, Vakhó, Kolokýthi, and Lághia.

It will be found that the total number of towns and villages in Mani, according to the preceding estimate, is about 130, instead of 117, the number before mentioned. The latter I find to be the general statement, and it is exactly confirmed in a poetical enumeration of them which I possess, and in which every village is named. But whenever I inquire of a native of any particular district, he gives me a greater number of names than in the poetical catalogue. This is easily accounted for by the dispersed mode of building, and partly perhaps by new villages having arisen since the poem was written, which seems to have been at least ten years ago.

Mani contains seven bishopricks, Zarnáta, Andrúvista, Miléa, Platza, Maíni, Kolokýthi and Karyópoli. Maíni includes the whole of Mesa Mani; Kolokýthi comprehends the country from Porto-Kaio to the bay of Skutári; and Karyópoli contains all the northern part of Kato Mani. The first and last of these bishopricks belong to the ecclesiastical province[a] of Lacedæmonia, the rest to that of Monembasía.

I have not been able to learn exactly the date of the Albanian colonization of Bardhúnia, though it is certainly within the last century. The district derives its name from a fortress similar to those of Pássava, Maíni, Kélefa, and Zarnáta in Mani. They were all, I believe, originally constructed by the Byzantine princes, to keep these mountaineers in order, and were for the last time repaired, about 100 years ago, by the Venetians, when they were in possession of the Moréa. The remains of the fortress of Bardhúni are near Arna. Bardhúnia comprehends all the southern face and roots of the great *Taygetum*, to within a short distance of the coast above *Trinasus* and *Gythium*. Its villages are, Arna, situated near the sources of the river of Pássava; this village contains five pyrghi, and ninety houses of Turks, one pyrgo, and thirty houses of Greeks:—Strotza, three pyr-

[a] ἐπαρχία.

ghi, and seventy houses, all Turkish:—Kurtzúna, two pyrghi, and forty houses, all Turkish:—Tzería, two pyrghi, and thirty houses, all Turkish. The other villages are Britza, Apano Britza, the residence of Hussein Agá, Tarápsa, the residence of Zalum-Osmán Agá, Vigla, Dhafni, Paleó Dhafni, Trízu, Potamiá, Alevétzova, Asimíni, Petriná, Rózova, Guliánika. Some of the latter border on the northern part of Miléa; and being in that bishoprick, it may be doubtful whether to include them in Mani or in Bardhúnia, as sometimes the Musulmans and sometimes the Christians, supported by the Maniátes, have the upper hand. The Musulmans fight among one another like the Maniátes, but at present the power of Amús Agá keeps affairs tolerably quiet. Fort Bardhúni is reckoned three or four hours from Kurtzúna, and as much from Goranús, a village of the Mistrá Vilayéti, from whence there is a road along the upper region of *Taygetum*, as follows:—from Goranús to Kumustá one hour, Boliána one hour, Dhipótamo half an hour, Dhóriza half an hour, Sotíra half an hour, Sokhá two hours, Anavryti an hour and a half, Barsiníko one hour.

April 10.—I leave Marathonísi at 8.43, and at 9.3, leaving Mavrovúni on the left, descend into the plain of Pássava: at 10.2 arrive at the foot of the hills which bound the plain on

the western side, and terminate in Cape Petalí. The best part of the plain belongs to Tzanét Bey; particularly a large tract of vineyards, which my conductor describes as a krasívrysi, or fountain of wine. Corn and kalambókki cover the rest of the plain; the latter grows in the lower parts, as admitting of irrigation from the river of Pássava, which joins the sea at half a mile short of Cape Petalí. We cross the hills, of which this promontory is the termination, and which are covered with the yellow-flowered sage-leaved plant called sfaka [a], and with broom [b], now in the utmost luxuriance of blossom, and at 10.35 enter a little plain on the sea-side, where I see men at the plough preparing the ground for cotton, with a dagger and pistols at their girdles. This, it seems, is the ordinary armour of the cultivator, when there is no particular suspicion of danger; the shepherd is almost always armed with a musket. At 10.47 cross the mouth of a stream coming from a marsh, and some mills on the right; and at 10.57 that of the Turkóvrysi river, whose pellucid waters seem to correspond better than those of the Pássava river, with the description of the Smenus by Pausanias. At the end of the beach ascend the cape to Vathý [c], a village of twenty houses; arrive at 11.19.

[a] σφάκα, phlomis fruticosa. [b] ἀσπάλαθος. [c] Βαθύ.

Here I find George, one of the Bey's nephews, living in a miserable house near the Bey's pyrgo, which is much inferior to that of Tzanét at Mavrovúni. Ghiórghio conducts me to some ruins at the foot of the hill of Vathý, on the south-western side, a quarter of an hour from the village; they consist of the remains of a large building, strongly constructed with stones and Roman tiles; a semicircular extremity, with five windows in it, is still standing entire: the diameter is upwards of twenty yards. There is a similar semicircular ruin close by, and farther up the valley a long arched subterraneous structure, which looks like a Roman cloaca. These, I think, must be remains of *Hypsus*, or *Hypsi*. Farther up the country are the modern villages of Karyópoli, Kafkí, Neokhóri and Pánitza, or Bánitza. The last is three quarters of an hour from Kárvela.

At 12.27, proceeding from Vathý across the plain, we pass, at 12.35, a stream flowing from Karyópoli, and leave a rocky height with the ruins of a windmill on the sea-side, to the left. Sepulchres, with skeletons in them, have been found here by the peasants digging in the fields, as well as other vestiges of an ancient site. The place is called Dhíkova, which name is applied also to the river and the valley. The hills around are well cultivated. We arrive at

the end of the plain at 12.45, and ascending a low height which connects Cape Kremidhará with the inland hills, come in sight of Skutári[a]. It is a large village, situated on a steep height overlooking the sea, at the bottom of an extensive bay. The whole extent of Cerigo is seen in face of this bay.

At 1.20 I arrive at Skutári, and lodge in the pyrgo of Katzanó, for whom the Bey has supplied me with a recommendatory letter. He is a man of a plain modest manner, civil, and perfectly ready to answer any questions about his country, a readiness indeed which I have observed among all the Maniátes with whom I have conversed. A greater share of candour and veracity is a natural consequence of their independence, rendering falsehood and dissimulation less necessary than they are to the other Greeks, who have no other arms of defence against their oppressors. The pyrgo, garrisoned at present by fifteen soldiers, whom Katzanó keeps in pay, is constructed in the usual Maniate fashion. The lower story is occupied by the garrison, the upper consists of two rooms, or rather of one long room, divided by a slight wooden partition; at one end is the fire-place and the kitchen furniture, at the other a mat-

[a] Σκουτάριον, the same name as that of the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople.

trass for a sofa. Mattrasses and blankets are piled up in one corner of the room; all the rest of the family furniture is hung about the walls, or stowed away in wooden boxes, ranged around; the floor consists of loose boards, and, never undergoing ablution, harbours myriads of fleas in winter, and bugs in summer. Katzanó has twenty-five persons in his family, of whom nine are his children; he married at the age of nineteen, his wife was fourteen; they have had fifteen children.

The hills around Skutári are cultivated in little terraces covered with wheat and barley, the latter of which is now in ear. The town is full of the ruins of Pyrghi, which have been destroyed in the Maniate wars; one belonging to the Cavaliere was ruined by the artillery of Hussein, the Capitán Pashá.

In the course of conversation, Katzanó informs me that formerly all the Gligoráki family lived at Skutári, but that John and Antony, alias Zaním and Andón, the heads of the two houses falling out, and all the branches taking part with one side or the other, a dispersion ensued, and Katzanó, with his brother Tzingurió, are now the only two of the name in Skutári. Here, as in Khimára, which enjoys nearly the same degree of independence as Mani, the most ordinary state of hostility between two families,

is that of non-intercourse and mutual observation, without any overt act. While the two branches of the Gligorákis were living here in that state, Katzanó being then young, he, with his brother and another were sitting on the outside of a house, when thirteen of the opposite party passed by. Katzanó and his friends saluted them; the others returned the salute in an offensive manner, or such at least as Katzanó and his friends, who had been drinking, thought proper to interpret as such, and who, without another word, rose and fired upon their opponents. The fire was returned, and both the brothers were dangerously wounded. Andón then sallied out of his house with a band of followers, seized eleven of the enemy, and shut them up in a pyrgo, until his nephew's wounds were healed, intending to have had blood for blood if they had died.

Many of the Maniate women value themselves on their skill with the musket. Katzanó's wife said to me, (as I was inquiring on this subject,) pointing to a place about 150 yards distant, "set up your hat there, and see if I cannot put a musket ball through it." I had too much regard for my only hat to trust her, for she has had two wounds in battle, and affects to consider her husband as no braver than he should be.

Lambró, a son-in-law of Lambró, the bey's nephew, arrives at Skutári in the evening, with a train of friends, to request the interference of Katzanó on the following occasion. Lambró lives at the Katjauniánika, the place which I passed through near the Castle of Pássava. A Kakavuliote, whose brother had been killed by Lambró, thwarted in all his attempts to revenge himself like a man of honour, that is to say, by murdering Lambró, and perhaps rather fearful even of success, on account of Lambró's connexion with the government, resolved at least to have the satisfaction of making depredations on his property. This day, in sight of Lambró and his friends, who even fired at the Kakavuliote without effect, he stole a mare belonging to Lambró, and rode off with her. The object of the embassy was to request Katzanó's interference to have the mare restored, and to prevent hostilities, and there seems every reason to believe it will be effected. This shews the good effect of the influence and authority which the Captain Pashá has lately obtained over Mani, as enabling the inferiors in command to check the lawless system of retaliation which in their present uneducated state is the consequence of the independence of this people; and it leads me to believe, that the best thing that could happen to the Greeks would be for the Turks in every

part of the country to have a similar authority, in such a manner that the Greeks, governing themselves in that sort of municipal form natural to this country, should at the same time be under a control sufficient to save them from the pernicious effects of the spirit of party, to which their character, arising from the same natural causes, irresistibly impels them. If the pashás and other officers in command could maintain discipline among their troops when out of their sight, such a system might be possible in the islands, and perhaps even throughout the Moréa; but I fear that Turkish anarchy, bigotry, greediness of gain, and cruelty, render it impracticable.

I am informed by Katzanó, that beyond the hill which terminates in Cape Stavrí, (so the promontory is called, which bounds the bay of Skutári on the south, as Kremidhará does on the north,) there are some ruins called Skopá or Skopópoli, about two hours distant from hence; they are in the district of Vátas, and near the sea, and consist of arched brick fabrics, like those of *Hypsus*, but not so well preserved. They are probably the remains of *Teuthrone*. My host adds, with a grave face, and his assertion is confirmed by all around, that the sound of persons tossing over heaps of gold is sometimes to be heard there. Southward of

this place the coast is difficult to debarkation, rising steeply to the summit of the *Taygetic* ridge. There are however several small villages along the face of the mountain, of which Lághia is the largest.

It is from Pausanias alone that we derive any detailed information on the ancient topography of the coast of Laconia southward of Gythium, or, as he expresses himself, to the right of Gythium, whence it seems that he very naturally considered a maritime town as facing the sea; and his expression therefore is worthy of observation, as it may serve to explain his meaning on other occasions, when it might otherwise be ambiguous. His description of the places is as follows[a]: "To the right of Gythium is Las, ten stades distant from the sea, and forty from Gythium. The place, which is now inhabited, lies between the mountains Ilium, Asia, and Cnacadium: anciently the city stood on the summit of Mount Asia, where its ruins are still seen, and before the walls a statue of Hercules, and a trophy for a victory gained over some Macedonians, who, having separated themselves from the army of Philip, when he invaded the Laconice, were ravaging the maritime parts of the country. The ruins contain also a temple of Minerva Asia, said to have been founded by

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 24, 25.

Castor and Pollux on their returning in safety from the Colchi, to whom they went with the fleet of Jason; for according to the Lacedæmonians the Colchi worship Minerva Asia. Near the present city of Las there is a fountain called Cagacó[a], from the colour of the water, and near it a gymnasium and an ancient statue of Hermes. Upon Mount Ilium there is a temple of Bacchus, and on the highest summit of the same mountain a temple of Æsculapius. On Cnacadium there is a temple of Apollo Carneius. About thirty stades from the Carneium there is a place within the territories of the Spartans, called Hypsi[b], where are temples of Æsculapius and of Diana, surnamed Daphnæa. On a promontory by the sea-side stands the temple of Diana Dictynna, to whom they celebrate a yearly festival. On the left hand of this promontory the river Smenus falls into the sea, inferior to none in the sweetness of its water; its sources are in the mountain Taygetum. Five stades distant from the city[c], in the place called Arainus, is a tomb of Las, upon which there is

[a] Cnaco?

[b] I adopt the reading ἐν χωρίῳ Ὕψοις.

[c] I suppose that the text ought to be pointed thus;—ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ τὰς πηγάς. Ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως, σταδίους οὐ πλέον πέντε, ἐν δὲ Ἀραΐνῳ καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ, τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδριὰς, &c.—meaning that Arainus was five stades from the city Las, and not the river Smenus, as the received text would imply.

a statue. They say that this Las was the founder of the city, and that he was slain by Achilles. On proceeding from the tomb of Las, occurs the mouth of the river, which is called Scyras, because Pyrrhus the son of Achilles entered the river, which was before nameless, with his ships, when he sailed from Scyrus to marry Hermione. Beyond the river, there is an altar of Jupiter, and a little further an ancient temple of that deity [a]. Pyrrhichus is situated forty stades from the river, in the interior [b]. There is a well in the agora of this city, said to be the gift of Silenus, which, if it should fail, the inhabitants would be in want of water. In their district [c] there is a temple of Diana, surnamed Astrateia, because here the Amazones terminated their progress, there is also a temple of Apollo Amazonius; the wooden statue in each temple [d] is said to have been dedicated by those women of the Thermodon. On descending [e] to the sea-side from Pyrrhichus, occurs Teuthrone, reported by the inhabitants to have been founded by the Athenian Teuthras; they worship above all deities Diana Issoria: they have a fountain called Naia. One hundred and fifty stades

[a] ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀπωτέρω Διὸς Ὁμωμοῦ.
[b] ἐν μεσογαίᾳ.
[c] ἐν τῇ γῇ σφισιν.
[d] τὰ ξόανα.
[e] καταβάντι.

distant from Teuthrone, is the promontory Tænarum, &c."

The positions in the preceding extract depend chiefly upon the strong evidence which the Hellenic wall, and other marks of antiquity at Pássava afford of that hill being the Mount Asia upon which the Homeric Las was situated. Which of the adjacent hills was Ilium, and which Cnacadium, is not so clear. We can hardly doubt that the source of the Turkóvrysi was the fountain Cagaco. It has been supposed by some of the commentators, from the name Cnacadium, that the fountain was called not Cagaco but Cnaco [a]; and I think the probability is increased by the similarity of the name to that of the Cnacion at Sparta; the water of which stream, moreover, is pellucid like the Turkóvrysi: if the emendation be allowed, the neighbouring height is probably the Cnacadium. In any case the distance of thirty stades from Cnacadium to Hypsi agrees sufficiently with that of Pássava from Vathý, to leave little or no doubt of the ruins near the latter place being those of *Hypsi*. The promontory on which stood the *Dictynnæum* seems, therefore, to be that called Petalí, which bounds the bay of Vathý on the north-east; and the more so, as, taking the

[a] From κνῆκος.

meaning of the words right and left from the instances of Las and Trinasus, in regard to Gythium, we have the river of Pássava for the *Smenus*, a little to the left of the promontory, as Pausanias has placed it. Its sources, as he remarks, are in Mount Taygetum, a description which will hardly agree with any other stream on this part of the coast. His river *Scyras* accords exactly also with that called the river of Dhíkova, and not less so, the vestiges of antiquity which are found near the right side of its mouth, at the place called Dhíkova, with the site of the temple and altar of Jupiter. The remains found at Skamnáki are probably those of *Pyrrhichus*; its distance from the shore, near Dhíkova, agreeing with the forty stades of Pausanias. It seems to follow, that the ruins at Skopópoli are those of *Teuthrone*, the distance of that place, moreover, from the peninsula of Cape Matapán, agreeing perfectly with the 150 stades of Pausanias between Teuthrone and Cape Tænarum.

His observation, however, that Hypsi was within the boundary of the Spartans[a], seems to require some explanation. It appears[b] that when Augustus relieved the Laconic towns distant from Sparta from their dependence on that

[a] ἐν ὅροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν. Lacon. c. 21.
[b] Strabo, p. 366. Pausan.

city, and made them autonomous, under the name of the community of the Eleuthero-Lacones, there were twenty-four of these πόλεις; but that about 180 years afterwards, when Pausanias travelled, there were only eighteen in that condition, the remainder then paying their taxes at Sparta, and forming a part of that government, probably because they had fallen into poverty and depopulation. Pausanias has given us a list of the eighteen Eleuthero-Laconic towns of his time; he hints, also, that he has had occasion to mention the other six places in the course of his narrative, but he has not specified their names. I conceive, therefore, that the words ἐν ὅροις ἥδη Σπαρτιατῶν indicate that Hypsi was in the district of one of the six towns which had ceased to be autonomous, and were then under the government of Sparta. I suspect that town to have been Ægila, for Pausanias has mentioned Ægila incidentally, as a city of Laconia, and, if we may trust Pliny, it was in this gulf. He says, after naming several places in the interior of Laconia and on its western coast, "Mons Taygetus, amnis Eurotas, sinus Ægilodes, oppidum Psamathus, sinus Gytheates ab oppido. Omnes enim Maleæ promontorio includuntur."[a] Whence it should seem that Ægila stood on one of the principal bays in the Laconic gulf. There

[a] Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 8.

is none so remarkable as that of Skutári, which town occupies a site not likely to have been overlooked by the ancients. Its having been deserted before the time of Pausanias may perhaps have been the reason why it is not noticed by him in his progress along this coast. Hypsi, in this case, would fall on the frontiers of Ægila and Las. Of the other towns which had ceased to enjoy the Eleuthero-Laconic autonomy, we know from Strabo that Helos was one [a]; Cyphanta, Leucæ, Psamathus, and Hippola may possibly have been four others.

In our copies of Strabo, a town of Asine is placed upon the western coast of the Laconic Gulf [b], and Stephanus, probably copying from Strabo, names a Laconic Asine as different from the Messeniac. But there can be little doubt that the text of Strabo, or his information, is erroneous, and that there was no other Asine in the southern part of the Peloponnesus than that which, according to several authorities, stood near Cape Acritas in Messenia, and which Strabo himself tells us gave the epithet of Asinæan to a part at least of the Gulf of Messenia. Pyrrhichus appears to have been the same place as the Pyrrhi Charax [c], taken by Philip son of Demetrius, when he overran this country [d], and

[a] Strabo, p. 366.
[b] Ibid. p. 363.
[c] Polyb. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.
[d] B. C. 218.

when, as we learn from Pausanias alone, a party of his Macedonians were cut off and defeated. Nor can it be doubted that Pyrrhi Charax was the same place which Livy calls Pyrrhi Castra [a], in relating the movements of Philopœmen and Nabis twenty-six years afterwards.

April 11.—At 12.37 I set out from Skutári, having waited until that hour for the arrival of mules from Tzímova with one of the Mavromikháli family, to whose care I am recommended by the Bey. On the western side of Skutári there are plantations of mulberry trees, and a deep gorge on the south, which separates the hills of Skutári from the commencement of the heights of Mount Sanghiá [b], as the northern part of the southern division of the great *Taygetic* promontory is called. At 1.5, having crossed the hills of Skutári, we enter the Vale of Dhíkova at the distance of a mile from the sea: at 1.15 cross the river of Dhíkova, half a mile south of Karyópoli, and again crossing and recrossing it several times, pass under the hill of Karyópoli, and at 1.37 enter a ravine leading to the south-west. Through this opening comes the river of Dhíkova; on either side are steep rocks forming a very strong pass. At 1.50, emerging from the glen, we enter a mountainous

[a] Liv. l. 35. c. 27. [b] Σαγγιὰς.

cultivated region, where, in a lofty situation on the mountain, on the left hand, is a monastery of Panaghía Spiliótissa, pleasantly situated in the midst of gardens and cultivated terraces. We continue to follow the river, crossing it and ascending the hills, first on its left bank and then on its right, till 2.35, when we leave it, now only a small torrent coming through a rocky gorge on the right.

I observed in the vale, near a mill, some of the bee-hives which produce the celebrated Maniate honey. The hives are made of four slates set up on the edges, with other pieces for the roofs and floors. In some of the stands there are eight or ten hives in a row, and two or three stories of hives, so that at a distance the structure looks like a wall built of very large stones: the junction of the slates is cemented with plaster. We now enter a little stony barren plain belonging to the village of Vakhó [a], which is situated to the southward on the steepest part of Mount Sanghiá. Zaním Bey lives at Vakhó, which consists of about thirty miserable huts. Beyond the plain we enter a narrow pass at 3, with Vakhó half a mile on the left. After ascending a very rugged road for half an hour, we come in sight of the Port of Vítylo, as well as of the town of that name, situated on the mountain

[a] Βαχὸ.

which rises from the northern side of the port. Then passing at 3.40 under the rocky precipice of St. Elias, which I have already mentioned as forming a termination of the range of Sanghiá conspicuous from the eastern shore of Máni, we leave on the left Kurtzúri, in a very elevated situation on the western side of the mountain of St. Elias. Near the foot of the cliff I observe several wheel-tracks of ancient cars in parts of the rock, which are now so rugged as to be impassable even to a mule. From this spot we descend in thirty-seven minutes to Tzímova [a], a large village situated half a mile inland from the brow of the lofty cliffs, of which all the coast to the southward of Porto Vítylo consists.

Gika Mavromikháli [b], a stout active Maniate, about sixty years of age, who came from hence on a mule in the morning, and walked back all the way from Skutári, conducts me to his house, where I am soon afterwards visited by Peter Mavromikháli, commonly called Kyr Petrúni, who lives at the harbour of Tzímova, half an hour northward of the town, at the foot of the mountain. Petrúni, though he does not assume the title of kapitáno, enjoys the influence of one over the whole of Mesa Mani. I find also at Tzímova, Póliko Tubáki [c] of Bábaka [d], the

[a] Τζήμοβα.
[b] Γκίκας Μαυρομιχάλης.
[c] Πόλικος Τουμπάκης.
[d] Μπάμπακα.

Kakavuliote chieftain who has been ordered by the bey to conduct me through the district. One of the first things Tubáki said to my servant was, "If the bey had not given such precise orders concerning you, how nicely we should have stripped you of all your baggage." These persons tell me they never heard of the plague having been in Mani. The wind is their plague, they say: it often destroys their crops of grain, and has done much damage this year. On this side of the peninsula it is the Gréco and Levante rushing through the ravines of the mountain, on the shore of the Laconic gulf it is the Garbino that does the mischief. Another curse is the want of rain in the month of April, which dries up the ear before there is any substance in it.

CHAPTER VIII.

LACONIA.

From Tzímova to Cape Matapán.—Messa.—Cænepolis.—The Promontories of Tænarum and Thyrides.—Psamathus.—Return to Tzímova.—From Tzímova to Kalamáta.—Œtylus.—Thalamæ.—Pephnus.—Leuctra.—Cardamyle.—Gerenia.—Abia.—Pharæ.

April 12.—This morning at 7.20, I leave Tzímova, vulgarly pronounced Djímova, accompanied by a relation of the bey from Skutári, by Gika Mavromikháli, by Tubáki, who has a nephew with him, and by one of the bey's attendants from Marathonísi, who was sent hither to prepare mules for me. Most of these persons are mounted at my expense, and they are all armed with Albanian muskets, that is to say, with muskets mounted in Albania, the barrels being made in the north of Italy. There is, besides, a guard of twelve men, headed by Kyr Petrúni, who accompany me a quarter of a mile out of the town, and then return. At 8.27 we descend into a deep ravine, which rises to a gorge in the mountain, a mile on the left, and on the right ends in a small inlet, or bay, which

forms a breakin the line of cliffs, and is called Dhikhó. This ravine separates the sub-district of Tzímova from the rest of Mesa Mani. Having passed it, we leave Khariá a little on the right at 8.50. At 9.7 Pyrgos is on the right on the edge of the cliff, which overhangs the sea: this place, my attendants say, is hostile to the English, on account of the capture at *Delus* not long ago by Capt. Donnelly of the navy, and the subsequent imprisonment at Constantinople of twenty-five sailors of a pirate tratta, who were all natives of this village, except the captain, a Cretan [a].

At 9.20 halt at an old church of 'Aia Marína on the road side, not far from Pyrgos. I here find an inscribed stone in the wall of the church. At 9.40 proceed along the stony level, or rather slope, included between the rocky sides of Mount Sanghiá and the cliffs on the sea-side. At 10.30 we are in line with another inlet of the sea, but smaller than that of Dhikhó, and more exposed to the westward. At 11, the village of Atjá [b] one of six, (formerly five,) which, from their number, were called the Pendádha [c], is half a mile on the left, under a remarkable little peaked rock. South of it stands Bábaka, or Pábaka, one of the Pendádha, and the village of my conductor Póliko. All this country, though stony,

[a] Κρητικὸς. [b] 'Ατζὰ, or 'Ακυὰ. [c] ἡ Πεντάδα.

and in appearance poor in soil, is covered with fields of wheat, barley, beans, and fasúlia [a], separated by fences of loose stones; with more rain and less wind, it would be a fertile district. The road passes between two parallel walls, over the bare rugged rock, where it requires the utmost caution of the mule to secure a footing.

At 11.40, we halt at a single house in the fields, opposite to the northern extremity of the great projection of the coast, called Kavo Grosso. Half-way between that extremity and the line of coast which we have been following, is a promontory, called Tigáni, with a small bay on either side of it. That to the eastward, which is much the more secure, is called the Port of Mezapó; it is said to be the best harbour on the western coast of Mani. The promontory of Tigáni is not high, its flat summit is surrounded with the remains of an Italian fortification, and it is connected with the great peninsula of Kàvo Grosso by a low isthmus. This is evidently the situation of the port and Homeric town of *Messa*, for, independently of the modern name Mezapó, and the description of Pausanias, the epithet which Homer applies to Messa [b], is confirmed by my guides, who say that the caverns in the cliffs of Cape Grosso abound with wild pigeons. The words of Strabo, regarding Messa,

[a] Kidney-beans. [b] πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην. Il. B. v. 582.

seem clearly to shew, that he had not himself visited this part of Greece. "It is said," he remarks[a], "that Messe is not to be found; some affirming that it was Messoa, one of the quarters of Sparta, like Limnæum, others, that it was an abbreviation of Messene." But Pausanias, who was an αὐτόπτης, knew better, and has exactly described Messa in this spot. I found an inscription at Mistrá, containing the name of a man with the adjunct Μέσσιος, which we learn from Stephanus to have been the gentile adjective of Messa, and shews that the man was a citizen of this place.

In the central and highest part of the peninsula of Kavo Grosso, there is a conical height which appears artificial, and marks probably the site of *Hippola*. Between the spot where we halt and the Port of Mezapó, stands a church of 'Aia Varvára[b], near a ruined village. Having moved again at 12.48, we leave, at 1.7, the villages of Karína and Mina on the left, in a retired level at the foot of the mountain. At 1.14 cross a bed of a torrent, which flowing from the latter village joins the sea three quarters of a mile on our right, at a pyrgo on the shore of the harbour of Mezapó. At 2.3 pass between the villages of Nómia on the right, and Gita[c] on the left; these are situated on a ridge

[a] Strabo, p. 364. [b] Ἁγία Βαρβάρα. [c] Κήτα, or Γκίτα.

which unites the height of Cape Grosso with the mountains, and commands a view of all the elevated paralia in one direction beyond Tzímova, and in the other nearly as far as 'Alika. The peninsula of Cape Grosso is about six miles in circumference; it terminates all round towards the sea in a high precipice, like that of the coast northward as far as Vítylo. The ground rises in great natural steps from the neighbourhood of Nómia to the centre of the peninsula of Cape Grosso, which seems to be all either a mere rock, or covered with a scanty layer of soil, cultivated only in a few places. From the foot of the steeps of the great ridge eastward, to the western extremity of the cliffs of the peninsula, there is a distance of three miles in a straight line.

The village of Gita has no less than twenty-two pyrghi. In the poetical list of villages which I have already alluded to, the epithet πολύπυργος is applied to it. It contains eighty or a hundred families. None of the villages we have passed to-day seem to have less than twenty or thirty. At 3 we are opposite the southern cape of Kavo Grosso, within which is a curve, or bay, exposed to the south-west; from thence, southward to Kypárisso, and almost as far as the peninsula of Cape Matapán, the aspect of the coast changes; instead of lofty cliffs, the slope is continued

from the steep part of the mountain, quite to the sea-shore. Consequently our road, though continuing at the same elevation above the sea, passes along a steeper slope, and being likewise more stony, becomes, at length, nothing more than a narrow terrace of loose round stones, over which it is impossible to move forward but at the slowest pace: the same kind of road occurred in some places before arriving at Gita. The fences which surround the fields are built of rocks, broken up into cubical masses, and put together without cement. The stone is a coarse-grained white marble, similar to that which was employed at Gythium, and in all the ancient remains which I have seen to the southward of that place. That of which the buildings of *Sparta* were constructed, is of a much finer quality.

At 3.50 we pass under the village of 'Alika, which stands upon the foot of the mountain. In the middle of the village the rock is cut perpendicularly to the length of about 150 paces: it seems to have been an ancient quarry. Between Gita and 'Alika we met upwards of 200 asses, laden with brushwood from Porto Káio, for the use of the villages to the northward. Each train of asses obliged us to halt a minute or two. This great importation of wood is for Easter, when every hearth is employed in roasting lambs. During Lent so strict is the fast that there is little

need of fire. No people are more rigorous in the observances of the Greek Church than the Maniátes. A Kakavúliote, who would make a merit of hiding himself behind the wall of a ruined chapel, for the purpose of avenging the loss of a relative upon some member of the offending family, would think it a crime to pass the same ruin, be it ever so small a relict of the original building, without crossing himself seven, or at least three, times.

Having descended from 'Alika into the bed of a torrent, we enter, at 4.20, the fences of Kypárisso, once a considerable village, but now reduced to one pyrgo, a chapel, and a house for the priest. My companion of the Gligoráki family says, that his ancestors, as well as those of the Mavromikháli, came originally from hence. The old priest, whose only costume is a jacket with a pair of wide trowsers of coarse blanketing of Maniate manufacture, receives me with an air of cheerfulness and hospitality; from a consciousness, perhaps, that he has nothing to give us, and that he is more likely to be entertained at our expense, than we at his. His house, which adjoins the church, offers, indeed, little hope of supply to the traveller. He points, however, without hesitation, to the only fowl he possesses, as he desires us to "take off its head", imitating the action of a Pashá

ordering an execution. He makes no difficulty in telling me his history; he is a Cretan, his monastic name Macarius[a]. After having passed several years as a kalóiero at Mount Sinai, which he says is infinitely worse than Kakavulía, he was sent into Egypt to collect charity for the convent. The temptation was too great; instead of returning with the money into the desert, he came to hide himself in Mani, and has now, for thirty years, been officiating as the priest[b] of Kypárisso. He hopes to obtain pardon, he says, by his daily prayers, for the crime he has committed, and shews me a sepulchre which he has built for himself behind the church. He then conducts me to something better worth seeing, namely, a small ruined church dedicated to Aio Sotíri, or Saint Saviour; of which the door-posts are two inscribed quadrangular στῆλαι, decorated with mouldings above and below. One of the inscriptions is by the city of the Tænarii, in honour of one of its citizens: the other is a dedication of the community of the Eleuthero-Lacones to Caius Julius Laco, son of Eurycles. From these it is clear that this place was the site of Tænarum, called, in the time of Pausanias, Cænepolis, and as it would seem, from the second inscription, the chief place of the Eleuthero-Laconic federation.

[a] Μακάριος. [b] ἱερεύς.

The Laco mentioned in this inscription is probably the same son of Eurycles who appears from Strabo to have been unable long to maintain himself in power, after his father's death[a]. Lying in front of the same church, there is a broken pedestal formed like the others, and inscribed in honour of one of the citizens of Tænarum. The church occupies, perhaps, the site of the temple of Ceres, mentioned by Pausanias; it stands on the summit of a height of about a mile in circumference, which is bounded to the west and south-west by perpendicular cliffs about forty feet high, washed by the sea; to the north and west by the torrent we crossed in arriving; and on the eastern side by a valley covered with corn-fields, which beyond it rise in terraces as high up as the rocky mountain supplies any soil for cultivation. On the north, the torrent bed ends in a little inlet of the sea, among the cliffs: to the south, there is a small harbour at the extremity of the valley. Here, probably, stood the temple of Venus.

Kypárisso stands about five miles from the isthmus of the peninsula of Cape Matapán. Towards the sea the hill consists of bare rock; in the opposite direction the slope is partitioned into very small inclosures by walls of a slaty kind of stone, different from that which I observed on

[a] Strabo, p. 366.

the road hither, and piled up, apparently in this place more for the purpose of clearing the land of the ruins, than for that of dividing the fields, which are small inclosures of corn or vines, by no means requiring so many divisions. In this labyrinth of fences and ruined buildings, by the guidance of the priest and a young son of his, (another little irregularity of Papá Makário,) I find dedications to Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Gordian, and among other fragments of inscriptions, one which appears originally to have consisted of twenty-six Iambic verses. In none of the inscriptions could I perceive the name Cænepolis. In some the Doric form Α ΠΟΛΙΣ is used, in others it is Η ΠΟΛΙΣ. The magistrates are entitled Ephori and Ephori Aurelii, and one of them was Strategus. There are several shafts of small columns among the ruins, and two large ones of the finest red granite of Syene, exactly like that of the Column of Diocletian at Alexandria. These are lying on the ground; but there are also two or three pieces of smaller columns still in their original places, which formed, apparently, part of a large church in the early ages of Christianity, when the appellation of Tænarum was probably obsolete, and the place flourished under its present name of Cyparissus[a]. I could not find any capital of a

[a] Κυπάρισσος.

column, except some very bad specimens in the church.

The priest's hut being insufficient to contain our numbers, he resigns his church of the Panaghía to us, where I take up my abode for the night. The eating of a meat supper in the church during the most rigid of Greek fasts, seems to shock the liberal Macarius himself, and we are duly punished by myriads of fleas, which prevent all possibility of sleeping. The whole of our party was strewn upon the floor of the church, and there was only just space sufficient to contain them.

April 13. After another search this morning for remains of antiquity, I quit Kypárisso at 7.50 for Cape Matapán, taking the road to Váthia [a], a village placed on the summit of a peaked height, half a mile from the sea, and a mile in a straight line from Kypárisso. The road to the cape quits that of Váthia in a torrent bed near the sea, at the ascent of the hill on which the village stands. This torrent forms the separation between Inner and Lower Mani, Váthia and its *περίχωρα*, consisting of three adjacent villages, being included in Kato Mani, according to the poetical list. My Mesa Maniate companions, however, do not admit of this arrangement, and include every thing on the

[a] Βάθια.

western side of the promontory in their own division of Mani. At 8.30 the sea is near us on the right hand, and the village half a mile on our left. We halt five minutes, to allow time to Gika and Póliko to answer the inquiries of a party of armed men from Váthia, who meet us on the road. This village, my guides say, has been divided into two parties for the last forty years, in which time they reckon that about 100 men have been killed. We pursue the summit of the cliffs overhanging the sea, along the side of a very steep mountain, where are some difficult passes, one in particular formed by a wilderness of immense masses of rock, which seem to have fallen from the brow of the mountain. Every spot of earth on its side which is covered with a little soil, is cultivated in terraces of corn. At 9.38, having arrived opposite the head of Porto Marmári, a dangerous creek in the steep coast, we cross over a part of the neck of land which separates Marmári from Porto Káio, and which constitutes the isthmus of the peninsula of Cape Matapán. Here we quit the road to Porto Káio, which leads also by a branch to a monastery on the mountain, above the northern side of that harbour, and turn to the right into the peninsula of Matapán. On the ascent of the hill which forms the isthmus, and which is barely half a mile across in a straight line, I

have a fine view of Porto Káio with its monastery, surrounded by corn fields in terraces.

Proceeding in a south-east direction, we arrive, at 9.55, upon the summit of a ridge, where are some small remains of a Hellenic wall: not above a dozen stones remain in their places. The spot commands to the north a view of Porto Káio, and to the south-east looks down upon the Port of Vathý; the latter is a long narrow inlet of the sea open to the south-east, towards which all the intermediate space is covered with terraces of corn. The western side of the peninsula is entirely occupied by the high rocky land of Cape Matapán, which is cultivated in every spot capable of cultivation. Two small kalývia stand on the eastern face of the mountain; the western side falls more steeply to the sea, and is not seen from our road. A lower ridge extends along the eastern side of the peninsula from Vathý to Porto Káio. All the cultivated tract between the two ridges, as well as the two kalývia, is known by the name of Asómato, which is properly that of a ruined church, near the shore of a small harbour close to Cape Matapán on the eastern side; to this place our path now leads, after leaving another on the left which conducts to the port of Vathý. After passing the division of the roads, we proceed along the side

of the western mountain, by one of the kalývia, and then descend to Asómato, where we arrive at 10.30.

Asómato, like many other dilapidated churches in Greece, has been repaired in such a manner as to be covered with a roof at the holy table, while the remaining walls are in a state of ruin. This altar-end is formed in part of Hellenic masonry, not quite regular; the stones, though very large, being not all quadrangular. At the end of this piece of Hellenic wall near the altar a narrow ancient door remains, which is not apparent from within, having been immured in converting the temple into a church. Several other parts of the church walls are formed of ancient wrought blocks, but that which is to the right of the altar only is original in its construction and site. This piece of ancient work is from four to seven feet high, and fifteen yards long. I did not complete the measurement of the church, which I had begun, not choosing to offend the prejudices of my guides, who cried κρίμα! when I entered the sanctuary, and partly because the measurement could not have given the exact dimensions of the ancient building, as the Hellenic wall formed a part of one side only, and no traces are to be seen of the opposite wall. The church, instead of facing to the east as Greek churches usually

do, faces south-eastward, towards the head of the port, which is likely to have been the aspect of the temple. There can be little or no doubt that it was the celebrated temple of the Tænarian Neptune. I could not find any remains of columns.

A little farther inland from the ruined church, are several ancient bottle-shaped cisterns cut in the rock. I find the women of the Kalývia washing their linen with the water taken from them. The largest of the cisterns is ornamented round the edge with a mosaic of tiles. The rock near the cisterns has been levelled in some parts, and made perpendicular in others, for the reception of ancient buildings, and in several places there remain steps cut in the rocks. On the north-eastern side of the chapel, a few paces distant, there is a large grotto in the rock, probably that from which Hercules is fabled to have dragged the dog Cerberus; nor is it any objection to this supposition, that no interior cavity or semblance of subterranean descent is to be seen within the cavern, for Pausanias remarks the same circumstance. The only ancient monument which I could find near this famous entrance of the Infernal Regions, was a large broken square stele on the shore of the harbour, piously inscribed by some fair Tænarian in honour of her father. A quarter of a

mile southward of the inner extremity of the port, a low point of rock projects into the sea from the foot of the mountain: this, the natives of the peninsula say, is the real Kavo Matapán, the southernmost point of Greece and of all Europe. Eastward of it there is a rock connected with the shore, in which is seen a great cleft, and opposite the point itself, a rocky islet called Katergáki. A more remarkable point than Matapán itself, is that to the south-east, which divides Asómato from Vathý, and shelters the latter harbour towards the south; it is more separated from the rest of the peninsula, but is not so high and steep as the land above Cape Matapán.

Pausanias thus describes the Tænarian district[a]: "One hundred and fifty stades distant from Teuthrone is the promontory Tænarum, and the ports Psamathus and Achilleius; at the Cape there is a temple resembling a cavern[b], and before it a statue of Neptune. Some of the Greek poets have feigned[c] that Hercules here led forth the dog of hell, though there is no passage through the cave into the earth[d], nor, indeed, is it probable that there exists any subterraneous dominion of the gods where souls are collected.

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 25.
[b] ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ.
[c] ἐποίησαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς.
[d] οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης, οὔτε, &c.

Among other dedications[a] at Tænarum, there is an Arion in brass playing on the guitar[b] and seated on a dolphin. There is also a source of water[c] at Tænarum. From Tænarum to Cænepolis the distance by sea[d] is forty stades. The ancient name of this city was Tænarum. It contains a temple of Ceres[e], and on the sea side a temple of Venus with an upright statue of stone: on proceeding forward thirty stades, there occurs a promontory called Thyrides. Here are ruins of the city Hippola[f], among which is a temple of Minerva Hippolaitis. A little beyond is the city Messa, and a harbour, from whence to Œtylus there is a distance of 150 stades."

It is difficult to reconcile what Pausanias says of the temple of Neptune with present appearances, which clearly shew that the cavern and ναὸς, or temple, were at some little distance apart, though they may have been included within the same peribolus. The description of Strabo[g] seems more correct; he says, "that the promontory Tænarum was in the bend of the sea shore[h], and that it had a temple of Neptune built in a grove, and near it a cavern,

[a] ἀναθήματα.
[b] Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς.
[c] πηγὴ.
[d] πλοῦς.
[e] μέγαρον Δήμητρος.
[f] Vide et Stephan. in Ἵππολα.
[g] Strabo, p. 363.
[h] ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς παραλίας.

through which it was fabled [a] that Cerberus was dragged out of hell by Hercules."

I am surprised to find that the Tænarian promontory has not been well described, either in ancient history or in any modern book or map, in short, that there is nothing to indicate that Tænarum is in fact a peninsula of circular form about seven miles in circumference, connected with the end of the great *Taygetic* promontory by an isthmus which is about half a mile wide in direct distance. It was not until I saw its real conformation, that I could understand why Pausanias, coasting the Laconic Gulf from the northward, names Psamathus and Achilleius *after* the promontory Tænarum [b]. It is evident that the whole peninsula was considered as the promontory; in fact, it is only in this manner that his distance of forty stades between Cænepolis and the promontory can be justified, that is to say, by measuring it to the nearest part of the peninsula. The word ἀκτὴ, applied to Tænarum by Strabo, seems to allude also to the peninsula, for ἀκτὴ was strictly applicable to a coast of this description, and was employed with the same import in the instances of Attica and of the Thracian Acte which contained Mount Athos. The word Matapán I take to be exactly, or very nearly, the Laco-Doric, or per-

[a] μυθεύουσιν. [b] ἄκρα Ταίναρον.

haps the still more ancient local form and pronunciation of the word Μέτωπον. The accents indeed differ, but the dialects differed sometimes from the common Hellenic in accents as well as in vowels. It is probable that the whole peninsula was known by the name of Ταίναρον ἄκρα or ἀκτὴ, and its extreme promontory by that of τὸ Ματαπὰν, while the small harbour of Asómato, the temple of Neptune, and the habitations around it, may have been distinguished by the name of Posidonium. The remark of Strabo, that Amathus[a] occurs next to Cape Tænarum in entering the Laconic gulf, leaves little doubt as to the situation of *Psamathus* at Porto Káio, for here are some remains of an ancient town, and it is not credible that Strabo should have noticed Vathý to the exclusion of the more important harbour, Porto Káio. It will follow that Vathý was the *Achilleius* of Pausanias.

Thyrides is another point on this coast of which it required an actual inspection, in order to understand the ancient allusions or remarks concerning it. Strabo describes it as a ῥοώδης κρημνὸς, "a precipitous cape beaten by the waves"; Pausanias, as a promontory[b] situated thirty stades to the northward of Cænepolis, and 150 stades distant from Œtylus[c]. Though

[a] Ἀμαθοῦς, *lege* Ψαμαθοῦς. [b] ἄκρα. [c] Now Vítylo.

these descriptions agree in every respect with Cape Grosso, they omit to give any idea of the dimensions of that remarkable promontory, which is a large peninsula like the Tænarian, nearly of the same dimensions, but of a more oval shape, and connected with the continent by a much wider isthmus. Another difficulty in regard to the topography of this coast, is the remark of Strabo, that Thyrides was the boundary of the Messeniac gulf. But this also is at once explained by an examination of the places, for we find that the latitude of Thyrides and of the Tænarian Cape is so nearly the same, that Thyrides conceals the view of the Tænarian promontory from every part of the Messeniac gulf, except the immediate vicinity of its south-western promontory, Cape Acritas. All the Tænaria, therefore, between Capes Grosso and Matapán was a coast not belonging to either gulf. Homer[a] seems to have correctly understood the extent of the Tænarian district, which, as we have seen, comprehended all the coast between the peninsulas Thyrides and Tænarum, including all the

[a] Παρ' δὲ Λακωνίδα γαῖαν, ἁλιστέφανον πτολίεθρον
Ἶξον, καὶ χῶρον τερψιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο
Ταίναρον, ἔνθά τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ
Ἠελίοιο ἄνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον.
Hymn. ad Apoll. v. 416.
See also Eustathius in Il. tom. 1. pp. 286, 287.

latter peninsula, with the exception of the part near Psamathus. From other authors we do not learn much as to the topography of this extremity of the Peloponnesus. It appears from Thucydides, that the temple of Neptune was a sanctuary in his time, and was held in peculiar veneration by all Greece [a].

I have inquired in vain for the Tænarian quarries of sumptuous marble mentioned by Strabo [b]. Several ancient quarries, indeed, I have remarked, and particularly that at 'Alikà, but they appear to have been all of coarse white marble or limestone. Nor have I been able to hear anything, on the Laconic coast, of the shell-fish which produced a purple inferior only to the Tyrian [c].

At 11.22 we leave Asómato, and return by a road to the eastward of that by which we came. At 11.41 the head of Vathý is below us, to the right. At 11.54, leaving the Kypárissó road to the left, we proceed along the summit of the

[a] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 128, 133.

[b] Strabo, p. 367. The famed Tænarian marble appears from Pliny to have been black, Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 8.; but another author, Sextus Empiricus, (Pyr. Hypol. l. 1. c. 14.,) speaks of a species that was white when broken to pieces, though it appeared yellow in the mass. Laconia also produced green marble, but it is uncertain in what part. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 7.—Paul. Silent. in descr. S. Sophiæ.

[c] Pausan. Lacon. c. 21.

Isthmus, and then, winding round the side of the mountain which overhangs Porto Káio, arrive, at 12.27, at the monastery called the Virgin of Porto Káio [a], which furnishes by far the most agreeable lodging I have met with in Mani. On the eastern side a spring issues from the side of the hill, and falls over several terraces of garden ground on the side of the mountain, which are grown with olives, caroubs, and cypresses, mixed with a few orange-trees. The garden furnishes me with a salad for dinner, and the stores of the convent some of the choicest Maniate honey—my companions, meantime, regaling upon bean-soup and salted olives. During their repast an old man incessantly accuses Gika Mavromikháli of having killed his brother, or, at least, of being of the family of the murderer. Gika admits the latter, but urges in defence that the deed was done in an honourable way, in the course of a war between the two houses. Only sixteen days ago, Gika tells me, he destroyed a pyrgo of one of his enemies in his own village of Tzímova. Porto Káio, he informs me, was anciently called Ψαμαθία. When I ask him how he acquired this information, he does not recollect, but admits that the name is known only to those who are a little tinctured with letters [b].

[a] ἡ Παναγία τοῦ Πορτοχαΐου.

[b] κάτι ὀλίγον γραμματισμένοι.

It is not improbable that Psamathus, converted into Psamathia, was used until the Moréa was overrun by the Franks, who, particularly the Venetians, seem to have done more than the Turks in destroying the vestiges of antiquity in Greece; and who having called this harbour Porto delle Quaglie, from the great number of quails which frequent the neighbourhood in the autumn, this name, in the course of time, has been assumed by the Greeks in the form of Porto Káio, for there are many Italian words adopted in the dialect of the islands and southern coasts of Greece, in the same manner as Turkish words have been adopted in the northern and continental dialect. Thus, Kavo Grosso, the only modern name for Cape Thyrídes, and accurately descriptive of it, is formed of two Italian words. Kavo and Porto, however, are used for Cape and Harbour in every part of Greece, having been introduced by the seafaring men, who are more than any other class familiar with the Italian language. Porto Káio is a beautiful circular harbour with a narrow entrance, a fine sandy bottom, and depth of water for large ships, except at a shoal which lies midway between the southern point of the entrance and the shore, which is immediately under the monastery. This point shelters the harbour from the S. and S. E. Upon its extremity I perceive

the remains of a battery which was erected by the insurgent Major Lambró, when Porto Káio was the strong hold of that person in the year 1773.

Beyond the ravine of the garden of the monastery, to the eastward, another root of the mountain, similar to that on which the monastery stands, slopes into the sea. On its summit stands the ruin of a square fortress, apparently of the same period as that of Pássava, but more respectable. Coronelli has given a description of it under the name of the fort of Maína. Its Greek name is Μαΐνη; it was a town in the thirteenth century, as we learn from Pachymer[a] and Nicephorus Gregoras[b]. It would seem, indeed, from the mention made of it by those historians, to have been then one of the chief places in the southern part of the peninsula, for Nicephorus names it as such, together with Sparta, meaning probably Myzithrá, and Monemvasía. He is not far from the truth in describing Maíni as being the place called by the ancients the Tænarian promontory[c], but he most incorrectly places it near Leuctra[d]. Perhaps he mistook the ruins at Kypárisso for those of Leuctra. Maíni is still nominally one of the suffragan dioceses of the ecclesiastical

[a] Pachymer, l. 1. c. 21.
[b] Nicephor. l. 4. c. 1.
[c] Ταιναρία ἄκρα.
[d] περὶ Λεῦκτρα.

province of Monemvasía. The Italians translated the word into Maina, and thence called the whole of the great *Taygetic* promontory, Braccio di Maina. From the same word the Greek chorographical appellation Μάνη is derived. From the fortress of Maíni begins the district of Lághia, belonging to Kato Mani. Lághia is the largest place between Porto Káio and Skutári. Next to it is Vatás, the chief place of the bishoprick of Kolokýthi.

We quit the monastery at 3; at 4.55 leave Kýparisso on the left, and at 5 arrive at 'Alika, where I procure a lodging in a hut of a friend of Póliko.

The misery of these Kakavuliótes is extreme. To the inquiries of my servants for the commonest articles of provisions, the answer constantly is, "where are we to find oil, or vinegar, or wine, or bread?" [a] as if such things were luxuries in which they never indulged. The scarcity [b] at present is undoubtedly very pressing in consequence of the insufficient harvest of last year; and to these occasional dearths, perhaps, may be chiefly ascribed the habitual penury and avarice of the people. But my Tzímova companions say, that even when the Kakavuliótes had numerous pirate boats and trattas in the

[a] ποῦ λάδι, ποῦ ξύδι, ποῦ κρασὶ, ποῦ ψωμί; [b] ἀκρίβεια.

Archipelago, and brought home a great deal of plunder, they still continued to live in the same miserable manner. The chief instrument of household furniture is the handmill [a], in which the kalambókki is ground. This is the employment of the women at night, who generally accompany the work with a song in lamentation of some deceased relation who has been killed perhaps by a hostile house; and it is their custom to continue these songs during the whole period of mourning, and the men let their beards grow on the same occasions. The χειρόμυλον is a lineal descendant of the ancient hand-mill, as the songs which accompany the grinding are of the ὠδαὶ ἐπιμυλίοι.

Except on the great feasts, none but the richest of the Kakavuliótes kill mutton or poultry: an old ox no longer fit for the plough, or a sheep or fowl already at the point of death, they sometimes indulge in. Cheese, garlic, and bread of maize, are the principal food; wine and oil, as their district produces none, they seldom use. A boy even of fifteen has a wrinkled, weather-worn appearance; but diseases are rare, they live to a great age, and their chief evil is a population disproportioned to the natural resources of the country. In soil and aspect, it resembles many of the islands, such as Kefalonía,

[a] χειρόμυλον.

Tzerígo, Naxía, Zía, &c. where, as in Mani, all the productions, though excellent of the kind, are seldom plentiful. My companions, however, who are some of the first characters on the western coast, do not complain: on the contrary, they boast of the sweetness of their mutton, that they send corn, in good years, to Cerigo, that they occasionally supply the Moréa with cattle, and that when the seasons favour them, they want nothing from abroad but wine and cheese.

This may be true with regard to the whole of the western coast taken together; but there seems to be a great difference between the country to the south, and to the north of Port Vítylo. The latter produces some wine, and a considerable quantity of oil, and it is not so subject to the drought which destroys the hopes of the cultivator in Outer Mani, nor to those gales which both by sea and land are most mischievous in the immediate vicinity of Capes Matapán and Maléa.

April 14.—At 6.30 I leave 'Alika: at 7.35 pass between the villages called Áno Boralí and Kato Boralí. At 8 pass again between Nómia and Gita the polypyrgous. At 8.35 cross the torrent of Mezapó. At the hut where I halted to dine on the 12th, we again stop twenty minutes. Leaving the direct road along the bot-

tom of the hollow of Pendádha, we turn to the right through its villages, and halt, at 10.15, at Bábaka, where I dine in the house of Póliko Tubáki, who has a pyrgo hard by. Proceed at 11, leaving Atzá above us on the right; pass, at 11.25, through Paleókhora, and then falling again into the road by which we came, at 2.20 we arrive at Tzímova. Thus terminates my journey in the land of Evil Counsel, without accident or any loss, except that of a double-barrelled pistol, which was stolen out of my holster on the 12th, at the hut near Kavo Grosso, perhaps by one of my companions, for they made a most suspicious show of halting to search for it at the same place on our return. At Tzímova I am again received into the house, or rather cottage, of Gika Mavromikháli, who, to make room for me, sends all his females into the pyrgo. At night fifty sheep and twelve oxen are driven into the yard of the cottage. The Maniátes are seldom in such a state of security as to leave their cattle abroad in the fields at night.

Not many years ago a Frenchman came to Tzímova, flying probably from justice; he set up for a physician, and resided here several years. He could cure those who believed in him, by giving them a pinch out of his snuff-box, and at length obtained such credit among

the Maniátes as to predict futurity. But he did not foresee his own fate. Some Kakavuliótes lay in wait for him, as he was returning one day from Koróni by sea, and murdered him, by which they gained only a few piastres.

April 15. This morning I walk down to Liméni, or the port of Tzímova, a distance of two miles; the latter mile down the side of a steep mountain, a road fit only for a Maniáte or his mule. The rest of the day I remain in the house of Kyr Petro Mavromikháli, near the sea-side. A person brings me for sale an inscribed slab of marble, found at Skopá, and which, though not containing the name of any city, is, from the mere circumstance of its having been found there, a strong confirmation of Skopá being the site of Teuthrone. The inscription is a mere fragment, though in excellent preservation: it appears to be of the age of Tiberius. As the Eleuthero-Laconic cities flourished chiefly in the time of the Roman Empire, it is not surprising that we find little else than ruins of that period in Mani, or that the inscriptions are all of the same date. Liméni consists of five or six magazines and two pyrghi, and to the north of that of Peter Mavromikháli there is a monastery with a little garden about it. Farther north the harbour branches to the eastward as far as the foot of the hill, on which stands

the ruined fort of Kelefá. It is said to be of Venetian construction, but could only have been a repair or reconstruction of the original fortress, as both Kelefá and Zarnáta existed before the Venetian conquest, and were taken by them from the Turks in the year 1685.

Northward of the eastern branch of the harbour, on the brow of a steep hill, which descends to the northern shore of that branch, stands the town of Vítylo, said to contain 250 houses. The mountain of Vítylo is separated from the hill of Kelefá by a deep glen, along which a torrent flows to the head of the eastern branch of the harbour. The sides of the mountain around Vítylo, and particularly below the town, are green with terraces of corn. The Vityliótes being opposed to the present bey, I am unable to visit the place where I believe some remains of the ancient Œtylus are still to be seen [a].

Porto Vítylo resembles exactly one of the

[a] Mr. Morritt, of Rokeby, visited Vítylo in the year 1795, and observed many remains of Hellenic walls among the modern houses. (Mem. on Turkey, ed. by Walpole, p. 54.) At the church he found "a beautiful fluted Ionic column supporting a beam at one end of the aisle, three or four Ionic capitals in the wall of the church, and on the outside of the church the foundations of a temple." This was probably the temple of Sarapis, mentioned by Pausanias, and which, perhaps, having been converted into a church on the establishment of Christianity, has remained in that state to the present day.

creeks which I have described on the precipitous coast to the southward, but on a much larger scale; the narrow entrance, bold rocky shores, depth of water, and extent inwards, are of the same character. It is said to be a bad harbour with a westerly wind. The northern side, as well as the eastern branch, belongs to Vítylo, the southern side to Tzímova. The name of Porto Vítylo is applied to the whole.

One hundred and fifty years ago, about fifty families emigrated from Vítylo into Corsica. The Vityliótes say, that one of these families, named Καλόμερος, translated the name to Buonaparte, and were the ancestors of the Great Napoleon. This the Tzimovítes affect to disbelieve—not the fact of the colony, which is undoubted, but of the origin of Napoleon. Without attending to one side or the other, for the people of Vítylo probably support what they think an honour, while those of Tzímova deny it, because they hate their neighbours, it must be confessed that the story is more than doubtful, Buonaparte being certainly an Italian name older than the date of the colony.

Kyr Petrúni is a smart looking man of between thirty and forty, dressed in green velvet, and the genteelest Maniáte I have yet seen[a].

[a] This person was afterwards promoted to be Bey of Mani, in which situation the Greek revolution found him.

His father, he tells me, recovered an English ship in a most resolute and enterprising manner in the year 1792; the ship belonged to Smith and St. Barbe, of London. The vessel had been driven into the gulf by a gale which, after it had subsided into a calm, left the ship near Pyrgos, with a tremendous sea setting on the shore. The crew had given themselves up for lost, and had ceased to make any exertions, when Mavromikháli put off from Port Vítylo with a small vessel to their assistance and piloted them in. The Maniátes immediately collected for the purpose of plundering the vessel, but Mavromikháli, by keeping a large body of his adherents on the watch, both by sea and land, prevented the attack. The ship remained nineteen days in the harbour, the captain's name was Brown.

The following is the account given to me by Kyr Petro of the captaincies of Mani. The kapitáni are, at present, no more than seven in number. 1. Ghiórghio Kapitanáki, who lives at Stavropíghi of Zarnáta, and governs all Zarnáta, containing about 700 houses. 2. Panaghióti Trupáki, of Andrúvista, who governs that district, containing about 700 houses. 3. Khristódhulo Khristéa, of Leftro, governs Platza and the district of Zygós, having 1000 houses under him. 4. Konstantíno Nikoráki, captain of the

single village of Kastaniá, one of the largest in Mani, and situated about midway between Marathonísi and Kitriés. 5. Ghiórghio Kyveláki, governor of Miléa and its dependencies, containing 200 houses. 6. Anagnósti Venitzanáki, who has the single village of Kastánitza. 7. Dhimítrio Gligoráki, of Mavrovúni, who has no command. To this list of the chieftains may be added Petro Mavromikháli himself, of the Liméni of Tjímova, who, being at present deputy governor of Mesa Mani, has more power and influence than any of the above, though he has not the title of captain. Petrúni's father married the present Bey's sister.

Before the year 1770, the date of the vain and cruel attempt of the Russians to revolutionize the Moréa with a force of 600 men, the Maniátes were subject to a nominal tribute of fifteen purses, which they never paid. When the insurrection was quelled, the Kapitán-Pashá Hassán proceeded against Mani, and obliged the Maniátes to submit to the terms of being governed by a Bey of their own choosing, approved of by the Porte, and of paying a yearly tribute of thirty purses to the Porte and five to the Kapitán-Pashá. John Kutúfari, of Zarnáta, who made the treaty, was appointed Bey: he died a natural death at the end of three years. Michael Trupáki, of Skardhamúla, succeeded

him, but being accused of possessing a tratta which, before he had succeeded to the beyship, had made depredations upon some European vessels,—an ambassador at Constantinople having countenanced the complaint, and Michael having no money to prevent the effects of it, the Captain Pashá came to Mani, took him on board his ship, and decapitated him at Mytilíni. John Gligoráki, his successor, commonly called Tzanét, or Zaním-bey, was in office fifteen years, when, being accused of too much friendship with the revolutionary French, about the time when the latter first became formidable to the Porte, he was succeeded by Komúnduro, of Kitriés, his accuser, who had generally maintained a good understanding with the Turks, and with whom Tzanét had constantly been at war during his beyship. Komúnduro, after a reign of seven years, was two or three years ago deposed and sent to Constantinople, where he died in the Bagnio: he also had been accused, by the Internuncio, of having shared in the plunder of an Imperial ship which had been seized upon by a brother of Peter Mavromikháli, who having taken his passage from Leghorn to Maína on board the Imperial ship, together with all the Maniate crew of a vessel of his own, which had been lost in going from Mani to that port, rose upon the Austrian seamen and carried the ship

into Mani. Antony Gligoráki, the present Bey, succeeded Komúnduro; he has done his utmost to assist the Turkish government in destroying the trattas and pirate boats of the Maniátes, and in reducing them to submission: all the best part of Mani, however, viz. Zarnáta, Andrúvista, Miléa, and Kastaniá, are against him, and more inclined to his enemy Tzanét, and his son Peter, the Bey-Zaáde, who is their hero. Khristéa, the captain of Zygós, is a neutral, having married a Mavromikháli, being personally a friend of Hassán Bey, and being carefully cultivated by Kyr Petrúni, the chief support of the Andón interest on the western coast; Khristéa, therefore, adds no strength to the party of Tzanét, though obliged to live on good terms with that party on account of his position in the midst of them. On the eastern coast, between Skutári and Porto Káio, Andón has many enemies; in fact his power, as a Turkish lieutenant, is disagreeable to the Maniátes in general, though they are too weak at sea to dispute it: their family quarrels are a great assistance to the Turks. These are often changing, and they have a proverb relating to their politics, Μανιάτικα Μηνιάτικα [a].

Each person of power and every head of a family of any influence has a pyrgo, which is

[a] Monthly.

used almost solely as a tower of defence : the ordinary habitation stands at the foot of it. The Bey's relations and a few of the Kapitáni maintain some soldiers in their towers, but in general these buildings are uninhabited, except in time of alarm. To overturn the pyrgo of the enemy and to slaughter as many of his relations as possible, are the objects of every war. The tower has loopholes in the different stories and battlements at top, and he that can get a rusty swivel to plant upon them is not easily subdued. Most of the ordinary dwellings are built with loopholes in the walls; nor are the villages, in which there is no inhabitant of sufficient opulence to build a pyrgo, the more peaceable on that account, but quarrel either among themselves or with their neighbours, and endeavour to overturn one another's houses just like their betters. Every pyrgo has a cistern, which has an arched covering of stone, with a little wooden door kept constantly locked. The villages, also, in general, have cisterns in or near them. The cactus is very commonly grown round the villages for the sake of the fruit, and these with a few figs, and grapes, and some of the commonest esculent vegetables, are the only horticultural productions of Mani.

April 16.—This morning I sail from Port Vítylo in a little kaík belonging to Kyr Petrúni,

a brisk Levanter blowing from the opening between Vítylo and Kelefá. But no sooner have we turned the cape on the northern side of the harbour than the breeze is succeeded by a dead calm with a great sea from the southward, the certain prognostic of a strong wind from that quarter. After rowing for seven miles under steep cliffs we are abreast of Ai Dhimítri, a pyrgo and village on the sea-side, opposite to which is a little island, three times as large as our boat, so the sailors describe it. Above it is situated the town of Platza, the chief place in Zygós, between which and the ridge separating Zygós from Vítylo, on the road to the latter, are Langádha and Poliána. Three miles beyond St. Demetrius is Léftro, a pyrgo and village, the residence of Captain Khristéa; between the two places the slope of the mountain is covered with olives, and at the head of it, just under the mountain, in a green looking glen, stands 'Izina[a], a village belonging to the district of Miléa. Not far above Leftro is the town of Pyrgo. I had intended to stop at Leftro, the only place in this part of Mani which the state of parties and family alliances admitted of my visiting; but a fresh sirocco coming on with a heavy sea, we are obliged to steer direct for Cape Kúrtissa.

[a] Ἴζηνα.

Beyond St. Demetrius, the high cliffs terminate which characterize this shore from Kavo Grosso northwards, and they are succeeded by a regular, fertile slope extending from the steeps of *Taygetum* to the sea-side. The peak of St. Elias, or Makrynó, appears nearest to the coast, at about half-way between Leftro and Skardhamúla, which latter is four or five miles from Leftro; and has an island opposite to it upon which there is a monastery. Behind Skardhamúla a deep ravine descends in a direct line from the Makrynó to that place; between Leftro and Skardhamúla there are some fine olive plantations. From the latter place to Cape Kúrtissa, which is five miles distant, the coast is a steep rock, but not very high. Our little boat ships some seas, and being heavily laden and low-masted, we are in some danger from the effect of the high waves, which follow us and take the wind out of our sails: but the Maniátes are good boatmen, and with cautious steering we arrive safely under the lee of Cape Kúrtissa. Kitriés[a] lies at the bottom of a bight, a mile and a half east of the cape: we arrive at 12.30, and find the frigate of Seremét Bey and a corvette anchored in the road. By land the distance from Kitriés to Vítylo is reckoned ten

[a] Κιτριαὶς, the citron-trees.

hours,—three hours and a half to Skardhamúla, from thence to Leftro one hour and a half, and five more to Vítylo. The distance by the road is not more than thirty miles, but so rugged in some parts that it cannot easily be done in less than twelve hours, except by a Maniate on foot.

Having landed, I call upon the Cavaliere Dhimítrio Gligoráki, who offers me his apartments in the house of the Bey; but I prefer lodging in one of the magazines by the sea side. The pyrgo of the Bey and adjoining buildings are large, and agreeably situated on a height above the sea. The hills around are covered with terraces of wheat, which is now in ear and already beginning to look yellow at the bottom of the stalk; it will be spoiled, they say, if there is no rain. Corn in Mani is all sown in the first rains of autumn, *i. e.* September and October. In the highest villages of *Taygetum*, where the snow covers the ground all the winter, it is reaped in August, and sown again in September: the produce is there three or four to one. In the most fertile parts of Mani ten to one. In the best lands of *Messenia*, where it is sown in November and December, ten to one is common; sometimes the return is as much as twenty to one, and with artificial irrigation still more.

At the head of a little valley behind the

beach of Kitriés, immediately under a rocky gorge in the mountain, I find a very large cavern answering to that described by Pausanias [a] at Gerenia, except that the entrance is not narrow, as he says; it may, perhaps, have been widened in order to be made more convenient as a μάνδρα, or sheepfold, for which it now serves. There are two or three sepulchral niches in the side of the cliffs about the valley, enough, I think, with the other data of Pausanias, to leave little doubt of Kitriés being the site of *Gerenia*.

Besides the Bey's pyrgo and its dependencies, the only buildings at Kitriés are five or six magazines near the sea. In one of these I found a singular personage, a Turk keeping a shop in a country of Greeks.

The Cavaliere is a sensible, quick, conversable character; he tells me that he was strongly invited to go to England in 1795, when at Petrópoli [b], by an English ambassador who understood Greek, and that the empress hearing of it shut him up. Such is his story. The pyrgo was built by Tzanét Kutúfari, and was the residence of the Bey of Mani, until Tzanét Gligoráki having built his castle at Mavrovúni, made that place his residence; the present Bey intends to reside at Marathonísi. The district of Zarnáta lies between Kitriés and Skardhamúla, and ex-

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 26.

[b] Petersburg.

tends inland to the highest ridges of *Taygetum;* in the midst of it, at the distance of an hour and a half from the sea, are the ruins of the fortress of Zarnáta, which Coronelli describes to have been taken by the Venetians in the year 1685, when it had a garrison of 600 Turks and fifty-one pieces of cannon.

Between the years 1771 and 1780, Kitriés was the chief resort of European vessels in the south of the Moréa, where they loaded the vallonéa, vermilion, oil, figs, &c., of *Messenia* and *Laconia.* It possesses a great advantage for this object in the security of the harbour, and its position westward of Cape Matapán.

April 17.—At 7.5 I leave Kitriés for Kalamáta, and proceed along the summit of the cliffs which overhang the sea beach, but which are interrupted, at 7.43, by the ravine of a wide torrent descending from *Taygetum;* at 8.10 arrive at Paleá Mandínia[a]: here is nothing but a church with some remains of Hellenic buildings on the side of a hill, in which there is an opening leading through the cliffs to the shore. The two villages of Mikrí and Megáli Mandínia stand on the side of the mountain a mile eastward of Old Mandínia, and contain together 100 houses. How the Hellenic name of Mantineia came to be attached

[a] Μαντίνεια.

to these ruins, it is difficult to conjecture; for the site is certainly that of Abiæ. Here are some fine fields of wheat, which women are now clearing of weeds. As we pass, one of our party asks them what they are doing, *βοτανίζομεν* is their *Laconic* answer.

At 8.25, leaving the church, we soon afterwards descend upon a sea beach formed of large pebbles; and then pass under a perpendicular cliff clothed with myrtles and ivy. At 8.55 arrive at a mill turned by a stream strongly impregnated with salt, which issues very copiously out of a cavern at the back of the mill, and below it runs in a large body into the sea. The place is called Armyró [a], from this salt river, and the same name is attached to the anchorage opposite to it, which serves as the port of Kalamáta in winter, when ships cannot safely remain in the roadsted off that town. After a five minutes' halt, we move forward along the stony beach, and soon after passing a naked projection of the mountain, which terminates in a cliff, arrive at 10 on a sandy beach, the south-eastern angle of the great *Messenian* Plain.

At 10.15 enter olive plantations. The village of Sélitza, in the Maniate district of Zarnáta, is situated to the right, near the cliffs of the mountain, but is not in sight. These cliffs sometimes break off in large masses, an occurrence

[a] Ἀλμυρὸν or Ἀρμυρόν.

which, among the Zarnatiótes, is considered prophetic of the fall of some great Maniate captain. I observe that all the olive trees are young, the old trees having been destroyed by the Maniátes, or their opponents the Turks, in the course of their wars. The destruction of olive trees is one of the greatest calamities to which the inhabitant of Greece is exposed in war: there is scarcely any thing analogous to it in more northern countries. A most fruitful production of very slow growth, which has afforded food and profit for centuries, and which in the course of nature might last as much longer, is destroyed in a moment. At 10.26 we cross a brook; at 10.35 on the left is a pyrgo belonging to the Kavaleráki, as they call the son of Dhimítrio Gligoráki. The ground is covered with great quantities of wild lavender in blossom, here called λαβδάσταχα. We now enter the olive and garden grounds which surround Kalamáta; they are fenced with the cactus, or prickly pear, but the fences are imperfect and the gardens ruinous—an effect of the frontier situation. Arrive at Kalamáta at 10.45.

The first object that strikes the traveller on entering Kalamáta, is the ruined mansion of Benákhi, which, like that of Krevatá at Mistrá, was destroyed by the Turks after the insurrection of 1770, in which the heads of those two Greek families took a part. The son of Benákhi

is now Russian Consul at Corfú, and still enjoys the rents of a considerable estate here, which are collected by a married sister, living in a pyrgo in the town. I proceed to the house of Kyr Elias Tzani, whose brother, Dhimítrio, is Hodjá-bashi of the place, but now absent at an assembly of all the Hodjá-bashis[a] at Tripolitzá, where the Pashá has summoned them to consider of the means of supporting the reinforcements destined for the Moréa.

I shall now trace the progress of Pausanias from Messa, along the western side of the Taygetic promontory, as far as Pharæ[b], for the purpose of justifying the ancient names which I have assigned to some of the places in passing, and of shewing, in conclusion, that Kalamáta stands on the site of *Pharæ*. "The distance from the harbour of Messa to Œtylus was 150 stades. The things worthy of remark in Œtylus were, a temple of Sarapis, and in the agora a wooden statue of Apollo Carneius. From Œtylus to Thalamæ the length of the road was about eighty stades; in the way there was a temple of Ino, and an oracle by means of the interpretation of dreams. In the open court of the temple stood brazen images of Paphia and of the Sun, and there was another statue in the temple said also to have been of brass, but it was difficult to be seen, on account

[a] Χοτζαμπασσίδες. [b] Pausan. Lacon. c. 25, 26.

of the garlands with which it was covered; there was a source of sweet water [a] at the temple, called the fountain of the Moon. Pephnus was twenty stades distant from Thalamæ, and situated on the sea side. Before it there was an island not larger than a great rock, also called Pephnus, in which stood, in the open air, brazen statues of the Dioscuri a foot high. The Messenians affirmed, that formerly this place belonged to them. Leuctra was distant twenty stades from Pephnus. The Acropolis contained a temple and statue of Minerva. In the town were a temple and statue of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, here called Alexandra, a marble statue of Æsculapius, and another of Ino—wooden figures of Apollo Carneius, who was honoured here in the same manner as at Sparta, and a temple and grove of Love [b], through which water flowed in seasons of rain [c]. In a wood near the sea there was found, in the time of Pausanias, after a great storm which destroyed most of the trees, a statue of Jupiter Ithomatas, which the Messenii alleged to be a proof that Leuctra formerly belonged to them.

[a] πιεῖν ὑδὺ.

[b] Ἔρωτος.

[c] ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος.—This torrent, according to Strabo, was called the little Pamisus; the Messenians pretended that it was the Pamisus which separated Messenia from Laconia, but they could never realize their claim.—Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πάμισος χαραδρώδης μικρὸς περὶ Λεῦκτρον ῥέων τὸ Λακωνικὸν, περὶ οὗ κρίσιν ἔσχον Μεσσηνίοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Φιλίππου. Strabo, p. 361.

Cardamyle, mentioned by Homer among the places offered by Agamemnon (to Achilles), was in subjection to Sparta, the Emperor Augustus having separated it from Messenia. It was distant from the sea eight stades, and from Leuctra sixty: not far from the sea there was a sacred inclosure of the daughters of Nereus, and in the town sanctuaries of Minerva and of Apollo Carneius.

"The city called Enope by Homer, though inhabited by Messenians, belonged to the community of the Eleuthero-Lacones, and was named Gerenia. Some affirmed that Nestor was a native of this city[a], others that he fled hither when Pylus was taken by Hercules. It contained a sanctuary, a sepulchral monument, and an upright brazen statue of Machaon, son of Æsculapius: the place was called Rhodus. On the head of the statue there was a crown, which, in the provincial dialect of Messenia, was called κίφος. In the district of Gerenia, on a mountain called Calathium, there was a temple of Clæa, and close to it a cavern; the entrance was narrow, but within there were things worthy of being seen. Thirty stades above Gerenia, towards the interior, was Alagonia, a city numbered among the Eleuthero-Lacones, and which contained temples of Bacchus and of Diana." Here end the Laconica of Pausanias. In the thirtieth

[a] τεραφῆναι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει.

chapter of the Messenica he resumes the same route at the valley Chœrius, which was the boundary of Laconia and Messenia [a]: its distance from Gerenia he has omitted to mention. "Twenty stades", he says [b], "from the ravine Chœrius [c], stood Abia, a city on the sea-side, anciently called Ire, and one of the seven which Homer represents to have been offered by Agamemnon to Achilles. Here were a celebrated temple of Hercules and an Asclepieium. Pharæ was seventy stades distant from Abia; in the way thither was a salt stream." [d]

The modern name of Œtylus is Βοίτυλος, pronounced Vítylo, and this is probably the ancient dialectic form without any change, except perhaps in the sound of the B. The initial B was often in the Æolic a substitute for the digamma or aspirate. Thus the Eleians, who spoke a kindred dialect, used Βαδὺ [e], Βοινώα [f], for ἡδὺ, Οἰνόη. In an intermediate age we find the name written by Ptolemy Βίτυλα; but the geographer was probably misinformed as to the orthography; for it cannot be supposed to have been less correct then than it is now.

The small island, compared by Pausanias to a great rock, and which my Maniate sailors described as not being larger than a boat,

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 1.
[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 30.
[c] τῆς ῥάχης τῆς Χοιρίου.
[d] ὕδωρ ἁλμυρὸν.
[e] Pausan. l. 5. c. 3.
[f] Strabo, p. 338.

marks the position of *Pephnus*, as the name of Leftro fixes the site of *Leuctra*, and that of Skardhamúla *Cardamyle*. Another little island, which has not been noticed by Pausanias, forms the harbour of Skardhamúla. That town is situated, as the Greek traveller has observed of Cardamyle, a little above the coast, and, as Strabo adds, on a strong rocky height[a]. It is possible that the modern name Σκαρδαμούλα represents exactly the ancient local pronunciation, for the final A instead of H is Doric or Æolic; the V or upsilon in the most ancient times certainly represented the sound which was afterwards expressed by OY in Greek, but which in Latin always preserved its original representative,—and the initial K and ΣK were often convertible.

Of the points in the road from Gerenia to Pharæ, there is one so marked by the hand of nature as to leave no doubt of the identity; this is the stream of salt water which gives to the place itself, as well as to the opposite anchorage, the name Armyró, the very word by which Pausanias has described the water. As Paleá Mandínia and Kalamáta both bear evidence of having been the sites of Hellenic cities, as the Armyró occurs in the road from the one to the other, and as the interval of seventy stades between them, given by Pausanias, agrees exactly with the two hours and a

[a] ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐρυμνῆς. Strabo, p. 360.

quarter of time distance, at the usual rate of thirty stades to the hour, the evidence would be sufficient to determine both the positions, even were not the presumption as to Pharæ confirmed by other testimony, as will be seen in the sequel.

Although the twenty stades of Pausanias between Chœrius and Abia exceed my time distance between the torrent which interrupts the rocky coast northward of Kitriés, and the Hellenic remains at old Mandínia, there can be little doubt that the ravine of that torrent is the νάπη intended by the Greek traveller, there being no other on this coast, and such a torrent being well suited to a boundary.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

TO

CHAPTER VIII.

I HAVE alluded more than once in the preceding pages to a poetical description of Mani. I found the manuscript in the possession of one of the ecclesiastics of the bishop's family at Mistrá, of whom I was making inquiries concerning Mani, and he allowed me to take a copy of it. It appears to have been written by a διδάσκαλος residing in some part of the north of Mani, perhaps at the court of Tzanét Bey, and apparently not long after a celebrated defeat which Kumúnduro sustained from the latter chieftain, when supported by a Turkish squadron from Kitriés, Kumúnduro advanced from Zarnáta

to Andrúvista, but was defeated and fled, while the Turkish Seraskier with difficulty and great loss re-embarked at Skardhamúla. I shall subjoin some extracts from this piece, certainly not for the sake of its literary merit, in which it is on a par with the other poetical effusions of modern Greece, but as a specimen of the southern dialect of this country, and as a native description of the topography and manners of Mani. The poem is in 314 lines, more than a third of which is a poetical catalogue of the 117 villages, interspersed with a few descriptive verses. After a short description of "the mountain Taygeton, by the moderns called Makrynón, in which those unfortunate Spartans, now called Maniátes, took refuge in order to save their life and liberty", the poet proceeds to enumerate in verse the names of all the 117 villages arranged under their three divisions and subordinate districts.

Tzanét Bey is the hero: he is qualified as "the firm column of his country, the father of orphans, who deserves to govern all Laconia as well as Mani, being hospitable and a great patriot. He has done in Mani", says the poet, "what no one else ever did before him; and this I have seen with my own eyes:—A bell marks the hour of supper at his palace. Then all those who hear the bell boldly enter, eat at the bey's table, and depart satisfied. He loves the poor and the stranger, defends his province, persecutes the wicked and pounds them like salt. Thus old and young desire him, all Mani, and all the captains, except the Bey Kumunduráki of Kitriés alone, who lives like a hawk, oppressing the poor and robbing them of their property, thinking only of feasting with his lady, while all the country groans. He hoped to possess himself of Miléa and tyrannize over it, and even to take Marathonísi. Assisted by the Turk, he pretended to frighten Mani and subject all its government to himself. He brought an army by land, and a squadron by sea, and from Andrúvista began to proceed in order. But the valorous young men, the dreadful captains opposed him. At Skardhamúla the meeting took

place—they sprang upon the enemy like lions, one driving a hundred before him—a hundred a thousand—they scatter them to the winds and reduce them to despair. The terrified (Kumúnduro) fled with his land forces, and abandoned the unfortunate Seraskier on the sea-shore. Then if Tzanét Bey had moved a little, and had not neglected the opportunity, Kumúnduro could not have arrested his flight at Kitriés, nor at Zarnáta,—no, nor at Kalamáta."

Πατρίδος στύλον στερεὸν, τῶν ὀρφανῶν πατέρα,
Στὴν Μάνην ὅλην ἔπρεπε, καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακωνίαν
Νὰ εἶναι πρῶτος ἀρχηγὸς, νὰ ἔχῃ ἡγεμονίαν,
Γιατὶ ἦτον φιλόξενος, φιλόπατρις μεγάλος·
Στὴν Μάνην ἔκαμε πράγματα ὁποῦ δὲν τὰ κάμνει ἄλλος.
Καμπάνα στὸ παλάτι του σημαίνει Βράδυ γεῦμα·
Τὸν εἶδα μὲ τὰ μάτια μου, αὐτὸ δὲν εἶναι ψεῦμα·
Καὶ ὅσοι τὴν ἀκούσουσι θαῤῥέτικα πηγαίνουν,
Καὶ τρώγουν εἰς τὴν τάβλαν του καὶ χορτασμένοι βγαίνουν·
Πτωχοὺς καὶ ξένους ἀγαπᾷ, τὸν τόπον του φυλάττει,
Καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς τοὺς κυνηγᾷ, τοὺς λιόνει σὰν ἀλάτι·
Διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἐζήτησαν καὶ γέροντες καὶ νέοι,
Καὶ ὅλη ἡ Μάνη αὐτηνὸν καὶ ὅλοι οἱ Καπιτανέοι,
Ἔξω καὶ μόνον ἀπ' αὐτὸν τὸν Μπεῖ Κουμουντουράκη,
Πωῦ ἀγαπᾷ στὸν τόπον του νὰ ζῇ σὰν τὸ γεράκι,
Καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς νὰ τυραννῇ, τὸ πράγμα τους ν' ἁρπάζῃ,
Νὰ τρώγῃ μὲ τὴν δόμναν του, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἂς στενάζῃ·
Καὶ στὴν Μηλίαν ἤλπιζε νὰ μπῇ νὰ τυραννίσῃ
Νὰ πάρῃ καὶ ἐπαντύχαινε καὶ τὸ Μαραθονῆσι,
Μὲ τὴν Τουρκίαν τοῦ φάνηκε τὴν Μάνην νὰ τρωμάξῃ,
Καὶ ὅλα τὰ κουμάντα τῆς γιὰ νὰ τὰ ὑποτάξῃ·
Ἀσκέρι ἔφερε στερεὰ καὶ στὸ γιαλὸ ἁρμάδα,
Καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀνδρούβιστα ἀρχίνησεν ἀράδα,
Ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸν ὑπάντησαν ἀνδρεωμένοι νέοι,
Καὶ φοβεροὶ τοῦ ζγήκασιν ὁμπρὸς Καπιτανέοι·
Στὴν Σκαρδαμούλαν σμίξασι, ἐκεὶ τὸν ἠπαντῆσαν,
Καὶ ὡσὰν τὰ λεοντάρια ἀπάνω τοὺς πηδῆσαν·
Ὁ ἕνας διώχνει ἑκατὸν, οἱ ἑκατὸν χιλίους,
Καὶ τοὺς ἀνεμοσκόρπισαν, τοὺς ἔκαμαν ἀθλίους·
Καὶ τρομασμένος ἔφυγεν μὲ τῆς στερεᾶς τ' ἀσκέρι,
Καὶ στὸ γιαλὸ παραίτησε τὸν μαῦρον Σερασκέρη·

Ἐτότες ὁ Τζανέτμπεης ἂν ἤθελε θελήσῃ
Νὰ κινηθῇ ὀλίγον τὶ καὶ νὰ μὴν ἀμελήσῃ,
Ὁ Κουμουντοῦρος σταῖς Κιτριαῖς καὶ μήτε στὴν Ζαρνάταν
Δὲν ἠμποροῦσε νὰ σταθῇ, μήτε στὴν Καλαμάταν.

The author then makes some reflections on the ill effects of "the disunion of the Maniátes, and the want of obedience to their chiefs, whence arise civil wars, the destruction of houses and churches, and piracy and robbery"; all which he ascribes to "ignorance and want of education."[a] "Hence disorder and civil wars, and robbery and murder, and ruin and convulsion. But, nevertheless, for their country and their liberty (when it is attacked from without) these men quickly unite and act in concert with fury."

Καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀμάθειαν γίνεται ἀταξία,
Κ' ἡ ἀταξία προξενεῖ καὶ μάχαις κἀὶ κλεψίαις,
Καὶ φονικὰ, καὶ χαλασμοὺς, καὶ ἀκαταστασίαις.
Ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τους καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
Εὐθὺς, εὐθὺς μονογνωμοῦν καὶ τρέχουν σὰν θηρία.

He then recommends them to establish two or three schools. "That your priests may be instructed and enlightened, and may teach and direct the people; that your chiefs may learn to govern, and the inferiors to obey their leaders; that your nation may be esteemed, that the towns and villages may be in peace, and that evil may cease."

Νὰ μάθουν οἱ Παπάδες σας καὶ νὰ 'ξεστραβωθοῦσι
Γιὰ νὰ διδάξουν τὸν λαὸν νὰ τὸν καθοδηγοῦσι,
Νὰ μάθουν τὰ κουμάντα σας νὰ κυβερνοῦν τοὺς ἄλλους,
Καὶ οἱ μικροὶ νὰ πείθωνται στοὺς πρώτους καὶ μεγάλους,
Νὰ τιμηθῇ ὁ τόπος σας, χῶραις νὰ ἡσυχάσουν
Νὰ εἰρηνεύσουν τὰ χωριὰ, καὶ τὰ κακὰ νὰ παύσουν.

After this good advice, the poet proceeds to treat of the country southward of Vítylo, where it seems as if he had himself been a sufferer from Kakavuliote *hospitality*: but his picture, though a broad caricature, is not without some foundation in truth. After stating that there are twenty-six villages in Mesa Mani, he thus enumerates them:—

[a] ἀμάθεια.

"The first is Tzímova, a handsome town and large, governed by a captain named Mavromikháli: beyond this place, at the foot of the mountain, is a village called Kuskúni, then Kreliánika, Kifiánika, Pyrgos, Khariá, Dhryálo, Paliókhora, Krimnós, Bábaka, Bryki, Kakióna, Karínia, Kulúmi, Mina, Kíta the many towered, and Paromía, a village of the same description, Stavrí, Kikhriánika, Kunos, Upper and Lower Bolarí, Dhrý, Kypúla, Váthia, 'Alika. These are the villages of Inner Mani in their order. Its principal produce is quails and Frank figs[a]. There is not a spring of water in all Inner Mani; its only harvest is beans and lean wheat, this the women sow and reap. The women collect the sheaves at the thrashing floor, winnow it with their hands, and thrash it with their feet, and thus their hands and feet are covered with a dry cracked skin, as thick as the shell of a tortoise. Not a tree, or stick, or bough, is to be found to cover the unfortunates with its shade, or to refresh their sight. At night they turn the handmill, and weep, singing lamentations for the dead while they grind their wheat. In the morning they go forth with baskets into the hollows to collect dung to be dried for fuel; they collect it in the houses, and divide it among the orphans and widows. All the men meantime roam about in the pursuit of piracy and robbery, or endeavouring to betray each other. One defends his tower against another, or pursues his neighbour. One has a claim upon another for a [murdered] brother, another for a son, another for a father, another for a nephew. Neighbour hates neighbour, *compáre compáre*[b], and brother brother. Whenever it happens that a ship, for its sins, is wrecked upon their coast, whether French, Spanish, English, Turkish, or Muscovite, great or small, it matters not, each man immediately claims his share, and they even divide the planks among them. When a stranger happens to go into their country, they de-

[a] The fruit of the cactus.

[b] *Κουμπάρης*: *Italicè*, compare; one who has had the same godfather, —a mode of strengthening the alliance of families, which was common in Italy in the middle ages.

clare him a *compáre*, and invite him to eat with them. When he wishes to depart they detain him, undertake to conduct and accompany him, and then say, " *Compáre*, reflect upon what we tell you, for it is for your good, take off your robe and your waistcoat, and your belt and your trowsers, lest some enemy should take them away from you; for if our enemies should strip you, it would bring great disgrace and shame upon us; and this too, my dear *Comparúli*, let us beg of you, leave your skull cap and shirt and take off your shoes too, they can be of no use to you. Now you are safe, you need not fear any one." When a man dies [a natural death] they lament him as unslain, unbled, unjustified. These are the men who give a bad name to Mani, and render it hateful wherever they go. Let no one salute them, but fly from them as from a serpent. The Tzimovites only are worthy men, their manners and good customs shew it,—in appearance merchants, but secretly pirates. May the blast and the drought take them all."

Ἡ πρώτη εἶν' ἡ Τζήμοβα, καλὴ χώρα μεγάλη,
Ἔχει καὶ καπιτάνιον ἕνα Μαυρομιχάλη·
Καὶ παραπάνω ἀπ' αὐτὸν, κοντὰ στὸ ῥιζοβούνι,
Χωρίον ἄλλο βρίσκεται καὶ λέγεται Κουσκούνι,
Κρελιάνικα, Κιφιάνικα, Πύργος, Χαριὰ, Δρυάλο,
Παλιόχωρα καὶ ὁ Κρημνὸς καὶ ἡ Μπάμπακα εἶν' ἄλλο,
Καὶ ἄλλο Μπρύκι λέγουσι, Κακιόνα καὶ Καρίνια,
Κουλούμι λέγουν ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο πάλιν Μῖνα.
Ἡ Κήτα ἡ πολύπυργος καὶ ὅμοια Παρομία,
Σταυρὴ τε καὶ Κιχριάνικα καὶ ὁ Κοῦνος ἄλλη μία,
Καὶ Απάνω, Κάτω Μπολαρὴ, τὸ Δρὺ καὶ ἡ Κυπούλα,
Ἡ Βάθια καὶ τὰ Ἄληκα, καὶ τούτα εἶναι οὔλα·
Καὶ Μέσα-Μάνη λέγονται καὶ εἶναι ὅλ' ἀράδα.
Ορτύκια, φραγκόσυκα ἡ πρώτη τους ἐντράδα·
Νερὸν δὲν βγαίνει τούπετες σ' ὅλην τὴν Μέσα-Μάνην,
Καρπὸν κουκία μοναχὰ καὶ ξεροκρίθι κάμνει·
Αὐτὰ γυναῖκες σπέρνονται, γυναῖκες τὰ θερίζουν,
Γυναῖκες τὰ δεμάτια καὶ ἀλόνια συναθροίζουν,

Γυναῖκες μὲ τὰ χέρια ταις μονάχαις τὰ λιχνίζουν,
Γυναῖκες μὲ τὰ πόδια ταις γυμνὰ τὰ ἁλονίζουν·
Τὰ χέρια ταις τὰ πόδια ταις εἶναι ξηροσπασμένα,
Σὰν ταὶς χελώναις ὅμοια καὶ χοντροπετζασμένα·
Δένδρο, ἢ ξύλο, ἢ κλαδὶ, δὲν εἶναι μήτε ἕνα,
Δὲν βρίσκουν ἴσκιον νὰ σταθοῦν ἢ θεούριαν τὰ καυμένα·
Τὴν νύκτα τὸ χειρόμυλον γυρίζουσι καὶ κλαίσι,
Ἀλέθουν τὰ κριθάρια ταις καὶ μοιρολόγια λέσι,
Καὶ τὸ ταχὺ μισογυμναὶς μὲ τὰ κοφίνια βγαίνουν,
Καὶ εἰς τοὺς λάκκους τρέχουσι γιὰ ταῖς κοπριαῖς πηγαίνουν·
Σὰν ξηραν θοῦσιν ὕστερα, στὰ σπήτια τὰ συνάζουν,
Καὶ μερτικὸν τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν χηράδων βγάζουν.
Οἱ ἄνδρες ὅλοι περπατοῦν στὸν κούρσον καὶ κλεψίαν,
Καὶ ἄλλοι σ' ἄλλους πολεμοῦν νὰ κάμνουν ἀπιστίαν,
Ἄλλος τὸν πύργον του κρατεῖ νὰ μὴν τὸν πιάσῃ ἄλλος,
Καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον κυνηγᾷ, καὶ ἄλλον πάλιν ἄλλος·
Ἄλλος γυρεύει ἀδελφον, καὶ ἄλλος τὸν υἱόν του,
Καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν πάππον του, καὶ ἄλλος τὸν ἀνεψίον του·
Καὶ γείτονας τὸν γείτονα, κουμπάρος τὸν κουμπάρον,
Καὶ ἀδελφὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν βλέπουν σὰν τὸν χάρον.
Ἂν τύχῃ καὶ καμμίαν φορὰν καράβι νὰ ξεπέσῃ,
Ἀπὸ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις του, στὸν τόπον τους νὰ πέσῃ,
Φραντζέζικον, Σπανιώλικον, Ἰγκλέσικον, ἢ ἄλλο,
Τούρκικον ἢ Μοσκόβικον, μικρὸν ἢ καὶ μεγάλο,
Καθένας τὸ μοιράδι του εὐθὺς νὰ πάρῃ θέλει,
Καὶ τάβλαις του μοιράζουσι, καθόλου δὲν τοὺς μέλλει.
Τοὺς ξένους, ὅταν τύχωσι στὸν τόπον τους νὰ πᾶσι,
Κουμπάρους τοὺς ἐκάμνουσι, καὶ τοὺς καλοῦν νὰ φᾶσι,
Καὶ ὅταν θέλει νὰ εὐγῇ ὁ ξένος, τὸν κρατοῦσι
Σὰν φίλον τὸν καθοδηγοῦν καὶ τὸν ἐνωθετοῦσι,
"Κουμπάρε," λέγουσιν, "ἡμεῖς θέλομεν τὸ καλόν σου,
Καὶ τοῦτο ποῦ σοῦ λέγομεν, βάλε στὸ μυαλόν σου·
Καὶ βγάλε τὴν φερμελὴ, γελέκι, καὶ ζωνάρι,
Καὶ τὸ βρακὶ, μπορεῖ κανεὶς ἐχθρὸς νὰ σοῦ τὰ πάρῃ,
Καὶ νὰ σὲ γδύσουσι ἐχθροὶ, νὰ σοῦ τὰ πάρῃ ἄλλος,
Ζημίαν φέρει εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐντροπὴν μεγάλην,
Καὶ τοῦτο, κουμπαρούλεμου, σωστὰ νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦμεν,
Καὶ φέσι καὶ ποκάμισον ν' ἀφήσῃς ἀγαποῦμεν,
Καὶ τὰ παπούτζια βγάλε τα, πὶ χρεία κάμνουν σένα,
Νὰ, τῶρα εἶσαι σίγουρος, μὴν σκιάζεσαι κανένα."

Ἂν ἀποθάνῃ καὶ κανεὶς, ἀσκότωτον τὸν κλέσι
Ἀσκότωτον, ἀμάτωτον, ἀδίκιοτον τὸν λέσι.
Αὐτοὶ τὴν Μάνην τὴν λοιπὴν τὴν κακονοματίζουν,
Καὶ ὁποῦ πάγουν τόνομα αὐτῆς τὸ μαγαρίζουν·
Μηδὲ χαιρέτισμον κανεὶς δὲν πρέπει νὰ τοὺς δίδῃ,
Ἀλλὰ νὰ φεύγῃ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὡσὰν ἀπὸ τὸ φίδι.
Οἱ Τζημοβίταις μοναχὰ εἶναι καλοὶ ἀνθρώποι,
Τοὺς μαρτυροῦν τὰ ἤθη τους καὶ οἱ καλοί τους τρόποι,
Στὸ φανερὸ πραγματευταὶς καὶ στὸ κρυφὸ κουρσάροι.
Μικροὺς μεγάλους ἄνεμος καὶ αὐχμὸς νὰ τοὺς πάρῃ.

These are a part only of the maledictions of the poet against Kakavulía. Nor has he entirely confined his injurious testimony to this district. That of Miléa falls also under his lash, particularly its chief place, Kastaniá, which having mentioned, he desires to fly from immediately. Arákhova he calls the renowned, and describes as hidden in a bewitched[a] valley,—and then adds: "From hence let us proceed, by the wolf-path, to the robbers of kids and goats, the walkers at night, and record the name of the town of the kid-eating rogues, the mule-stealers, the goat-slayers, the thrice-apostate Miléa, from which Garbeléa is one quarter of an hour distant."

Λοιπὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν Μηλιὰν νὰ 'ποῦμεν κάμνει χρεία·
Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἴζιναν θέλω νὰ ἀρχινήσω,
Καὶ σταὶς θεούσαις ν' ἀνεβῶ νὰ ταὶς ἐσυργιανήσω,
Νὰ γράψω καὶ τὴν χώραν τους, Καστανιὰ τ' ὀνομάτης,
Καὶ εὐθὺς νὰ εὔγω ἀπ' αὐτὴν νὰ φύγω 'ποκοντά της·
Νὰ ἔλθω στὴν Ἀράχοβαν τὴν πολυξακουσμένην,
Εἰς ἕνα στριγολάγγαδον εὑρίσκεται χωσμένη,
Καὶ ἀπεκεὶ νὰ ἔλθωμεν, καὶ διὰ ταὶς λυκοπάταις,
Στοὺς κατζικογιδοκλεπτὰς καὶ νυκτοπεριπάτας,
Νὰ γράψωμεν τὴν χώραν τους τῶν κατζικοφαγάδων
Μπαρόνων, μουλαροκλεπτῶν, καὶ τῶν γιδοφοναίδων·
Αὐτ' εἶναι τρισαπόστατη καὶ λέγεται Μηλέα,
Ὡς ἕνα κάρτο ἀπ' ἐκεὶ εἶναι καὶ ἡ Γαρμπελέα.

[a] romantic.

CHAPTER IX.

MESSENIA.

Kalamáta.—PHARÆ.—Produce of the District of Kalamáta.—Management of the silkworm.—From Kalamátá to Andrússa.—THURIA, CALAMÆ, LIMNÆ.—Andrússa.—Mavromáti.—MESSENE.—Ancient Topography of the adjacent country. — ANDANIA, CARNASIUM. — Rivers PAMISUS, ARIS, BALYRA, LEUCASIA, AMPHITUS, CHARADRUS, ELECTRA, CŒUS.

APRIL 18.—This being the morning of Holy Thursday, by the Greek calendar, a young subdeacon, two hours before day, knocks at all the doors, calling out, "Christians, come to church."[a] To-day, oil is permitted, but to-morrow, Good Friday[b], it is forbidden even to set a table for dinner. In the evening at 7½ a service begins, which lasts till eleven; twelve masses are said, and as many portions of the Gospels read, descriptive of the different sufferings of Christ, previous to the Crucifixion, which they suppose to have taken place at midnight. Just as the service was beginning, there was a slight earthquake—certainly the most appropriate of all ac-

[a] Χριστιανοὶ, κοπιάζετε εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [b] ἡ Ἁγία Παρασκευὴ.

companiments. It is the first I have felt in Laconia, notwithstanding the observation of Strabo, εὔσεισος ἡ Λακωνικὴ. I inquired at Mistrá in consequence of this remark of the geographer, and was told that earthquakes were not frequent there.

Corn, at Kalamáta, is measured by the πινάκι, which contains sixty okes of good wheat. A pináki of kalambókki is now sold for thirteen piastres, the same price for which the Constantinople kilo of twenty-two okes of wheat is sold in the south of the Moréa in general.

April 19.—Mahmúd Agá makes his entrance into the town; he is a friend of the Pashá, and comes hither on a visit of observation, connected with some efforts about to be made by the Pashá for the suppression of the robbers: he was lately in the household of Bekír Efféndi, of Tripolitzá, brother of Nuri Bey, of Corinth.

I saw an old woman this evening searching for a strayed mule among the olive-trees, and making the sign of the cross down to the ground, every two or three steps, by way of assisting her in the search, but which, of course, retarded her not a little.

April 20.—The ceremony of the Entombment[a] occurs this morning, at two hours before

[a] Ἐπιτάφιον.

day; the people come out of their houses in the dark, and scramble to light their candles at the priest's candle. There is then a procession, consisting chiefly of women, through the streets to the church. Kalamáta is the only town in the Moréa, inhabited by Turks, where the Greeks can perform this ceremony; which generally takes place within the walls of the church or monastery. In the retired villages of the mountains, of course, it may be done openly.

Kalamáta, including its kalývia, contains 400 families, of which only six are Turkish. The government is in the hands of the chief Greeks, and the vóivoda is readily removed upon any complaint of theirs. The mukatá of the Kázasi is generally bestowed upon some favourite at Constantinople for twelve or eighteen months, who undersells it to some other Turk for four or six months. The resident vóivoda is the agent of the latter person, and a mere collector of the revenue. The kadí is, in like manner, the deputy of a principal at Constantinople, who has purchased the kadilík. An Albanian Bolúk-bashi and forty men are maintained by the town, to keep the country free from robbers; like every other part of the police, they are under the direction of the archons. The town is situated at about a mile from the sea, on the

left bank of a torrent, which emerges from a rocky gorge in Mount *Taygetum*, at the distance of a mile to the north-eastward of a hill rising from the back of the town. This height is crowned with a ruined castle of the middle ages, and is naturally strengthened by a perpendicular cliff towards the torrent, which in winter often fills a bed 100 yards wide, but is now divided into three channels. There is a small kalývia, or suburb, on the right bank of the river, the mills and gardens of which are supplied by an artificial diversion from the river.

The advantageous situation of the castle-hill on the bank of a river, at a small distance from the mountains and near the head of this great gulf, is such as could not have been overlooked by the ancient Greeks; upon this foundation alone, we might presume it to be the site of Phere, or Pheræ, or Pharæ, one of the maritime cities of the Messeniac gulf in the time of the Trojan war, and of such antiquity, as to have had the reputation of having been founded by a son of Hermes, whose descendants are noted in the earliest records of Greece[a]. Not long after the war of Troy, it was the residence of Ortilochus, when Telemachus, in search of his father, rested here at night on his way to Sparta from Pylus,

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 30.— Homer. Il. E. 542.—Od. Γ. 488. O. 186.

and again on his return. It would seem from the poet, that Phere was about midway between Pylus and Sparta; and that Telemachus travelled about equal distances on the two days, which accords exactly with the position of Kalamáta relatively to Navarin and *Sparta*. Strabo[a] describes Pharæ as situated at five stades from the sea, and Pausanias[b] at six, which is less than the actual distance. This may either be explained by the town having been larger in those times than it is now, or by the earth deposited at the mouth of the wide and rapid torrent having, as we so often see exemplified in Greece, encroached upon the sea; in which manner the space may have been widened from five stades to six, between the time of Strabo and that of Pausanias, and may have been farther augmented to eight, between the age of the Antonines and the present time. Pausanias omits to notice the river, but Strabo informs us that it was called Nedon, and his description of the port of Pharæ, as being an anchorage fit only for the summer[c], is exactly conformable to present practice. In the time of Pausanias there were at Pharæ temples of Æsculapius, of Fortune, and of the deified natives Nicomachus and Gorgasus, who received offer-

[a] Strabo, p. 361.

[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 31.

[c] ὕφορμος θερινὸς.

ings for the cure of diseases, like their father Machaon, and their grandfather Æsculapius. Not far from the city there was a grove of Apollo Carneius, and a temple with a fountain in it. Strabo speaks of a temple of Minerva Nedusia, which, not being noticed by Pausanias, was perhaps no longer in existence. He also mentions Charadra, Nedon, Pœeessa, Echeiæ, and Tragium, as places in this part of the country [a]. Nedon we may suppose to have been towards the sources of the river Neda; and some of the other places named by the geographer may also have been in the mountains which separate the plain of Kalamáta from that of Mistrá. In the same direction there was a place called Thalamæ, on the ordinary route from Sparta into Messenia [b], and different, therefore, from the *Thalamæ*, which was in Exo-Mani. It is not surprising to find more than one place of this name, the word having been synonymous with the temple of the Dioscuri [c]; which deities, having been peculiar favourites with the Lacedæmonians, had, undoubtedly, temples in every part of the Laconic territory.

[a] Strabo, p. 360.

[b] Polyb. l. 16. c. 16.

[c] τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερόν.—When Thalamæ had this meaning, it was oxytonous, or accented with the grave on the last syllable,—Θαλαμαὶ. Eustath. in Odyss. E. Tom. III. p. 232. ed. Basil.—Tryphon in Ammon. Lexic.

I could not succeed in finding any vestiges of Hellenic antiquity at Kalamáta. There seems to have been but little left in the time of Pausanias, and the circumstance of the site having always been occupied and well inhabited, will account for that little having disappeared.

Kalamáta is not only the port of external commerce for the districts of Andrússa, Londári, and even Mistrá, when the roads are safe, but it is also the chief place for the interchange of commodities between the interior of the Moréa and the southern coast. A fair is held every Sunday, at which maize, wheat, barley, cheese, butter, skins, &c. are brought for sale from the districts of Karítena, Londári, Arkadhía, Andrússa, Tripolitzá, and Mistrá; or are exchanged for the manufactured commodities of other parts of Turkey or of Europe. Kalamáta is a great market also for cattle and live stock of all kinds, as well as for the productions of the plains of *Messenia* and of the western parts of Mani, such as oil, figs, raw cotton, tanned leather, &c.

The vilayéti contains twenty-one villages, one of which, Iánitza [a], lies between Kalamáta and the frontier of Mani; all the others are in the plain of the *Pamisus*, or on the side of the mountain which extends northward from Kalamáta until it unites with the Makryplághi. The

[a] Γιάνιτζα.

productions of the district are oil, silk, figs, wheat, maize, cotton, kidney-beans[a], wine, honey, and, in the mountains, some sheep. The manufactures of Kalamáta are,—1. Handkerchiefs of silk, much esteemed in every part of the Levant. 2. A kind of silk gauze, chiefly used for musquito curtains at Constantinople, in Greece, and in the western part of Asia Minor. The gauze sells here at thirteen paras the yard: 1500 okes of raw silk are consumed yearly in the two articles, the value of which is increased sixty times by the manufacture. 3. Tanned leather for boots and slippers. The hides are tanned with vallonéa, and coloured black, red, and yellow: five months' soaking in the vallonéa is a sufficient tanning, after some preparatory operations. Leaves of skhinos[b] are mixed with the vallonéa in about equal quantities. The colouring is a secret.

The principal exports from the Kázasi are, 1. Raw silk; of which the average is 7000 okes, valued at 180,000 piastres. There are three qualities selling at present, twenty-five, twenty-eight, and thirty piastres the oke. It is chiefly carried to Turin, Smyrna, Khió, Constantinople, Skodra, and Joánnina; at the two latter places it is made into lace for Albanian dresses. 2. Figs; which are grown chiefly in the districts of An-

[a] φασούλια. [b] Lentisk.

drússa and Nisí: of these nearly two millions of tzapéles [a] are annually exported. The tzapéla is a little wicker pocket, containing two litres [b]. Half the produce is sent to Trieste, the remainder to Greece and Albania, with the exception of a ship load to Malta; the figs are inferior only to those of Smyrna. 3. Oil: this is produced only in the immediate vicinity of Kalamáta. In a good year the quantity exported is 6000 barrels, and the prime cost from thirty to thirty-eight piastres the barrel; this year it is forty to forty-eight. It is chiefly consumed in Greece: at Joánnina the price of a barrel of oil, to a consumer, is about eighty-four piastres.

Before the French revolution, Kalamáta was chiefly frequented by ships of that nation, which carried the grain, morocco leather, silk, and cotton of Messenia to Marseilles. At present the port is visited by Sclavonians, Albanians, and islanders of Greece. The road of Kalamáta is fit only for the summer months. After September, ships retire for safety to Armyró, but Kitriés is the best harbour in the gulf, as Cape Kúrtissa is a protection from the southerly gales, and leaves no danger but from the north and north-west. A large fleet might anchor at Kitriés, and Messenia would supply an army better than any part of the peninsula.

[a] τζαπέλαις. [b] λίτραις, pounds.

Almost every house in Kalamáta is provided with a chamber for rearing silk-worms. The eggs [a] are sold from two to five piastres the measure of eight drams, the price varying according to the crop of the preceding year: this year the price was five piastres. The eggs are wrapped in a cloth, and the worms hatched at the end of April or beginning of May [b]; young mulberry leaves are then placed upon them; the mamúdhia [c], or worms, mount upon the leaves, and are placed in round shallow baskets [d]. In this state the mamúdhi [e] is called miga [f]; small leaves are given to it once a day, or once in two days: the leaves increasing in size as the worm increases. At the end of fifteen days it sleeps two days, sheds its skin and then becomes a protokúli [g]; in which state it eats twelve days, having fresh leaves in the morning of each day. After sleeping again two days, and changing its skin, the worm is called dhefteráki [h]. It has now fresh leaves twice a-day, and is removed out of the basket [i] into the kalamoti [k]: this is nothing more than a frame of reeds tied together, and is usually ten, twelve, or fourteen feet long, and five or six broad. The kalamótes are placed one above the other at intervals of

[a] ὁ σπόρος. [b] Old style. [f] μίγα. [g] πρωτοκούλι.
[c] μαμούδια. [h] δευτεράκι. [i] κούφη.
[d] κούφαις. [e] μαμούδι. [k] καλαμώτη.

eight or ten inches, forming as many stories as the height of the room will permit. In Asia Minor the worms are commonly kept in huts built for the purpose in the mulberry grounds; here they are in the private houses. The dhefteráki eats for ten days, sleeps two, sheds his skin again, and then becomes a tritáki [a]: he has now fresh leaves morning, noon, and evening, and, after eating for eight days, sleeps three, and once more sheds his skin. In the last and largest state the worms are called megáles, or great [b]; they have leaves three times a-day, cease eating at the end of eight days, and then begin to climb upwards. The kladhiá [c], or branches upon which they are to spin, are then placed upon the kalamótes, and the worms form the kukúlia [d]; sometimes two, three, or four spin together, and make a large kukúli: at the end of fifteen days the kukúlia are placed in the sun, which is now at the solstice, and the chrysalis is killed by the heat; soon afterwards the neftéres [e], or moths, eat their way out of those kukúlia that have been reserved to furnish eggs.

The growth of the animal, the quantity he eats, and consequently the frequency of the change of leaves, depend on the weather; he advances more rapidly if it is hot, and less so

[a] τριτάκι. [b] μεγάλαις. [c] κλαδιὰ. [d] κουκούλια. [e] νευτῆρες.

if it is cold and rainy. The worms are so delicate that thunder, or even the report of a pistol, will sometimes kill them. The baskets and kalamótes are cleaned by merely throwing in fresh leaves, which, as soon as the worms have mounted upon them, are removed to a fresh basket, or kalamóti. This operation is repeated after every change of skin. The moths live three days. The kladhiá are usually made of lentisk.

April 20, Easter Sunday, by the Greeks called Lambrí [a]. It is a general custom, when two acquaintances meet for the first time to-day for one to say, "Christ hath risen!" [b] to which the other replies, "truly He hath risen!" [c] The morning is occupied in visiting and drinking coffee. At about 11 dinner takes place, after which it is not unusual to sing the words of salutation just mentioned, or something equally applicable to the day.

April 22.—At 2 P.M. I leave Kalamáta for Andrússa. Nearly half an hour is lost in unloading and reloading, in the course of the way through the olive grounds, which lie along the heights, and broken ground at the foot of the mountain. At 3.5, on the descent into the plain, the village of Asprókhoma [d] is on the left, and farther, in the same direction, Kalámi [e].

[a] Λαμπρὴ.
[b] Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.
[c] ἀλήθως ἀνέστη.
[d] Ἀσπρόχωμα.
[e] Καλάμη.

The plain and the lower parts of the mountain are covered with plantations of the vine, fig, and mulberry, and present as rich a cultivation as can well be imagined. This is a part of the region which, from its great fertility, was anciently called Macaria [a], and which the dramatic poet describes as abounding in fruits and flocks, refreshed with innumerable streams, and neither incommoded with heat in summer, nor with cold in winter [b]. Although in some parts towards the sea a want of drainage may render the air less healthy now than it was anciently, and though a native of the north of Europe would probably differ in opinion from an Athenian as to the summer heat, it cannot be doubted that, generally speaking, the climate is salubrious as well as delightful; and it is certain that the Messenian valley is one of the most favoured districts, if not the most fertile, in the Peloponnesus. But to the ancient inhabitants this fertility was a fatal gift of nature, for by exciting the cupidity of the natives of the poorer soil of La-

[a] Strabo, p. 361.

[b] —Μεσσήνης,
Ἀρετὴν ἐχούσης μείζον', ἢ λόγῳ φράσαι,
—καλλίκαρπον—
Κατάρρυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι,
Καὶ βουσὶ καὶ ποίμναισιν εὐβοτωτάτην,
Οὔτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχείμερον,
Οὔτ' ἐν τεθρίπποις ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν.
Euripid. ap. Strab. p. 366.

conia, it tempted them to make gradual encroachments on the Messenian plain, until, by the effect of their larger territory and greater numbers, they were at length enabled to subject the Messenians, after a gallant resistance of eighty years, to a most cruel servitude, which lasted for three centuries.

The district of Nisí, which occupies the lowest part of the plain, is not less rich and well cultivated than that of Kalamáta; but the opposite side and adjacent hills belonging to Andrússa, are in a very different state; there the proprietors of the land are Turks, almost the whole district is in tjiftliks, and the Greek labourers are subject to vexations of every kind. The country exhibits, therefore, the usual aspect of Turkish desolation. Below Asprókhoma, the plain extends to the sea-shore and along the coast, nearly as far as Kalamáta. Entering the lower level, at 3.25, we proceed along the foot of the hill, leaving to the left, the direct road to Andrússa, which leads through Kutzukumáni[a], the largest village in the Kázasi of Kalamáta.

Sending forward my baggage by that route, I ride with my janissary, formerly a robber, and therefore well acquainted with the country, to

[a] Κουτζουκουμάνη.

see some Hellenic ruins which have been described to me as existing at a village called Paleókastro. The road leads through a well cultivated tract; we pass the villages of Ais Agá and Kurt Tjaus on the left, at 3.38. These and thirty-four others, four of which are in the district of Kalamáta, the rest in Andrússa, Londári, Nisí, and Koróni, but all in the great *Messenian* plain, are an appanage of the Sultan's sister, and are called the Imlak villages[a]. At 3.55 we pass between Kamári and Fridjála[b], which are separated only by the bed of a torrent; at 4 traverse Delímemi[c], and, ascending the mountain, arrive at the ruins at 4.35. Here are several remains of walls of the 4th order, extending for half a mile along the summit of a hill, divided from the range of Makryplái by a deep ravine and torrent, and which commands, in the opposite direction, a fine view of the plain and gulf. On the latter slope stand the villages of Farmísi and Veis Agá, overlooking the plain; at the northern extremity of the ancient site is the hamlet called Paleókastro. Nearly in the centre of the ruins I find a quadrangular cistern, ten or twelve feet deep, cut out of the rock at one end, and on the other sides constructed with the same regu-

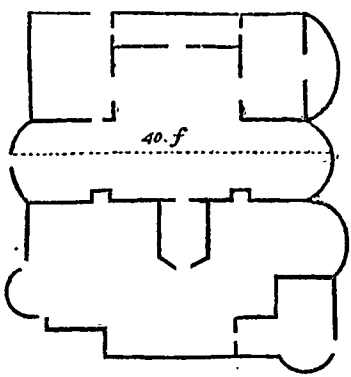
[a] Ἐμλάτικα χωριά. [b] Φρητζάλα. [c] Ντελήμεμι.

lar kind of masonry as the other ruins. The cistern was divided into three parts by two cross walls, of which there are considerable remains. Its whole length is twenty-nine paces; the breadth half as much.

To the north of this ruin, on the highest part of the ridge, which is here very narrow, I find the portico of a temple, of which the lower part of the columns and the door are in their original places. The columns are Doric, two feet two inches in diameter. They are formed, as well as the rest of the ruins, of a hard brown calcareous stone, in which are cockle and muscle shells extremely perfect. At right angles to the portico there are several pieces of columns in their places, with the remains of door-ways and pilasters. There are many other foundations and fragments of columns on the summit of the hill, but I could not trace their original plan or distribution; though, undoubtedly, a little excavation and removal of the fragments would enable an architect to make some interesting discoveries. Of the other remains, the most remarkable are some walls on the slope towards the plain, which appear to have supported terraces of public edifices. There is also a very fine piece of wall on the side of the hill, below the portico, and another close to the village. I searched in vain for a theatre. The

ruins cover an extent of a third of a mile along the summit of the ridge, and half as much on the slope towards the plain. I inquired of the elder[a] of the village for inscriptions and coins, but without success. This man enjoys the reputation at Kalamáta and in the surrounding country, of being able to cure the bite of a mad dog, by means of a powder and a certain diet known only to himself. He presents me with a very acceptable glass of good wine and water, but eludes all inquiries as to his secret.

At 5.45, descending from Paleókastro, through Veis Agá, the middle of the three villages which stand on the side of the hill; we arrive at 6, at Paleá Lutra, the ruin of a large Roman building, of the annexed plan, standing in the middle of the fig and mulberry grounds.



It is in an uncommon state of preservation, part even of the roof still remaining. The

[a] πρωτόγερος.

walls are seventeen feet high, formed of equal courses of Roman tiles and mortar; the roof is of rubble mixed with cement. The plan does not seem to be that of a bath only, as the name would imply, though there are many appearances of the building having contained baths: it seems rather to have been the palace of some Roman governor. As there are no sources of water here, it is to be supposed that the building was supplied by an aqueduct from the neighbouring river of Pídhima. Leaving the Paleá Lutra at 6.18, I cross the Pídhima at 6.30; the river issues from some copious sources, at a small village also called Pídhima[a], half an hour on the right of our road at the foot of the mountain. It flows slowly, is remarkably bright, and so deep as to come up to the horse's shoulder. There are some other fountains at Aio Floro, two or three miles nearer Skála, not less copious than those of Pídhima, and which are augmented by other springs in a marshy tract, occupying a large part of the plain below them; from thence the river, after having been joined in the middle of the plain by the Mavrozúmeno, which is composed of several branches from Mount *Lycæum*, and the hills eastward of the town of Arkadhía, flows

[a] Πήδιμα.

by Nisí to the head of the Messeniac gulf. The Pídhima pursues an independent course, without receiving any tributary; it joins the Mavrozúmeno below Nisí, where the united river assumes the name of Dhipótamo, and is navigable by small boats.

We now cross the rich Messenian plain, which for the most part is well cultivated; and at 6.45 arrive at Aslán Agá, a large Greek village, where I find all the men and women, in their best clothes collected in an open spot, and dancing the *circular dance*: the village is surrounded with mulberry grounds. In the direction of Kutzukumáni I hear frequent discharges of fire arms, another favourite mode among the Greeks of celebrating Easter, when they dare indulge in it. At Farmísi, Veis-Agá, and the other villages I passed through, I found the people collected on some pleasant brow, singing and feasting, in complete oblivion for the moment of all their cares. But, in fact, Kalamáta and Nisí are favoured districts, on account of the greater part of them being crown lands. Aslán Agá stands on a low height which branches from the mountain near Skala, and forms a separation in the plain, leaving little more between its western extremity and the foot of Mount *Ithome*, than a passage for the Mavrozúmeno.

Beyond Aslán-Agá I leave, on my right and left, one or two small villages, of which the names are Turkish, though they are inhabited entirely by Greeks; at 7 cross the river Mavrozúmeno. This name, I am informed, is properly that of a bridge over the river under Mount *Ithome*, in the road from Arkadhía to Kalamáta, where several branches unite, of which the principal is called Vasilikó. Not far above the point at which I ford the river, it is joined by the stream formed from the sources of Aio Floro, and the springs in the marshes below that place. The Mavrozúmeno is twice as wide as the Pídhima, but not half so deep.

Beyond the river, the plain becomes a marshy pasture land without cultivation, and it is easy to perceive that we are in the district of Andrússa. In a quarter of an hour begin to ascend the hills connected with Mount *Evan*, and passing through the village of Anazíri, standing on the summit of the range of heights which immediately border the plain, cross a small valley, and then ascend a second range, upon which stands the town of Andrússa; I arrive at 7.55, and am lodged in the hut of the secretary[a] of the vóivoda.

There can be no doubt that the ruins at Pa-

[a] γραμματικοῦς.

leókastro are those of Thuria, of which place, Pausanias[a] tells us, that it was eighty stades from Pharæ towards the interior of Messenia; that according to the Thuriatæ, it was the same place named Antheia in the poems of Homer; and that Augustus gave it to the Lacedæmonians of Sparta, because it had supported Antonius out of a spirit of opposition to the Lacedæmonians, who took the part of Augustus. "The Thuriatæ", adds Pausanias, "have descended from the lofty position of the ancient city to inhabit the plain, but without having altogether abandoned the upper city, where the ruins of the town walls subsist, and a temple sacred to the goddess called the Syrian. The river Aris flows by[b] the city in the plain." He then immediately adds, "There is an inland town named Calamæ, and a place called Limnæ[c], where stands the temple of Minerva Limnatis, at which Teleclus, King of Sparta, was slain. Proceeding from Thuria towards Arcadia occur the fountains of the Pamisus, to the left of which, at the distance of forty stades, is the city of the Messenians, under Mount Ithome." Hence it appears that the lofty situation of the remains at Paleókastro is no less in agreement with the site of the ancient Thuria, than the position of the

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 31.

[b] παρέξεισιν.

[c] Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κώμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον.

ruin in the plain with the situation of the town in the time of Pausanias, the Roman construction of that ruin shewing, moreover, that it was a building of the same age; and hence, also, the river of Pídhima, the left bank of which is not far from the Lutra, seems clearly to be the *Aris*. Strabo confirms the site of Pharæ as well as of Thuria by his observations, that Pharæ confined on Thuria and Gerenia, and that Pharæ and Thuria were in the country lying to the left of the course of the Pamisus [a]. The eighty stades, indeed, which Pausanias places between Pharæ and Thuria, is rather more than my time distance from Kalamáta to Paleókastro, according to the usual rate; yet, as something may be allowed for good roads and the absence of baggage, the agreement is sufficient, when taken together with the coincidence of the fountains of the Pamisus on the road from Paleá Lutra *towards Arcadia*, to leave no doubt whatever as to the position both of Pharæ and Thuria; and this decision is important, inasmuch as the similarity of the names Pharæ and Pharis, the silence of Homer as to the former, in his Catalogue, and the subjection of the same place to Laconia, during a great part of its history, furnish, at first sight, no less than the resemblance of the modern name Kalamáta to the ancient *Calamæ*, very reasonable grounds for a different opinion. The situation

[a] Strabo, pp. 360, 361.

of Pharis, however, is perfectly ascertained, from Strabo and Pausanias, to have been in the basin of the Eurotas, and it was well distinguished from Pharæ by the gentile Φαρεῖται, found both in Pausanias and in Stephanus; whereas the inhabitants of Pharæ were called Φαραῖοι. As to the similarity of the words Kalamáta and Καλάμαι, there is, as I have already remarked, a modern village, Kalámi [a]; in the plain to the north-west of Kalamáta, the name of which more nearly resembles the ancient Καλάμαι than Kalamáta does, and at the same time more correctly answers in situation to the "inland" position [b], which Pausanias assigns to Calamæ. Calamæ is mentioned also by Polybius. In the last year of the Social War [c], Pyrrhias the Ætolian, and Lycurgus the tyrant of Sparta, undertook a combined invasion of Messenia, from the opposite quarters of Elis and Laconia: Lycurgus had taken Calamæ, and was hastening forward to meet Pyrrhias, when he learned that the Ætolians, upon entering Messenia, had been defeated by the Cyparissii, and obliged to retreat into the Eleia; finding himself unequal to the enterprise, without assistance, he made an attempt upon Endeia [d], (Andania?) but did not persevere, and returned to Sparta [e].

[a] Καλάμη.
[b] ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ.
[c] B. C. 217.
[d] πρὸς τὴν Ἐνδειαν.
[e] Polyb. l. 5. c. 91.

Limnæ, which we may presume, as well from the name itself as from the words of Pausanias, to have been in the central and lowest part of the plain, was a place of some celebrity; and Grecian history has preserved traces of its sanctity and fame during a period of eight centuries. Situated on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, it was a place of worship common to the two people. A quarrel which occurred there, and which caused the death of Teleclus, King of Sparta, furnished, some time afterwards, to the stronger party, a convenient pretext for entering into the first Messenian war, the real cause of which, as Pausanias hints, was the tempting richness of the Messenian land. The re-establishment of Messenian independence 300 years after its conquest, was followed by disputes between the two states concerning their boundaries, in which the right to Limnæ was a constant subject of contention. On six different occasions it was adjudged by arbitration to the Messenii. On two others, Julius Cæsar and Marcus Antonius gave it to the Laconians, from political motives of the same kind as those which afterwards induced Augustus to make Pharæ and Thuria subject to the government of Sparta. When the same cause was heard by Tiberius on the latest of the occasions mentioned by the Latin

historian[a], ancient poems and records were brought forward on either side; the Lacedæmonians attempting to prove by these documents that Limnæ was, strictly speaking, within the Laconic boundary,—the Messenians, that Limnæ was in the Dentheliatis, which was a part of one of the five divisions of Messenia, according to the original distribution of the country by the Heracleidæ. It may be inferred, I think, from the Lacedæmonian argument, that Limnæ was to the left of the Pamisus; for though it may easily be conceived that on an equitable partition of the two provinces among the Dorian conquerors, all the country westward of the range of Taygetum was apportioned to Cresphontes, it seems evident, from the events which brought on the first Messenian

[a] Auditæ dehinc Lacedæmoniorum et Messeniorum legationes, de jure templi Dianæ Limnatidis quod suis a majoribus, suâque in terrâ dicatum, Lacedæmonii firmabant annalium memoriâ vatumque carminibus: sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum, ac pòst, Cæsaris et M. Antonii sententiâ, redditum. Contrà, Messenii, veterem inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Dentheliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse: monimentaque ejus rei sculpta saxis et ære prisco manere; quòd si vatum annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse: neque Philippum potentiâ, sed ex vero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii judicium: si Milesios permisso publicè arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum prætorem Achaiæ decrevisse. Ita secundum Messenios datum. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 43.

war, that the Lacedæmonians had made some encroachments in the interval between the Doric partition and the first Messenian war, and that before the latter event, the Pamisus was all but acknowledged to be the common boundary. On the other hand, it is not credible that as long as the ancient Messenia had any independence, the Lacedæmonians possessed any part of the country beyond that river. Limnæ, therefore, taking its name from the marshes towards the mouth of the Aris and Pamisus, seems to have been situated on the left bank of the latter river, not far from the site of the modern town of Nisí, which derives that appellation from the similar circumstances of its position [a]. Strabo, not adverting to the different boundary of his own time, finds fault with Tyrtæus for saying that the Pamisus separated the two provinces, "whereas", says Strabo [b], "it flows through the middle of Messenia without touching Laconia."

Andhrússa, Andrússa, or Andrútza [c], is a poor town, inhabited by 250 or 300 Turkish families, and three or four Greek. Its neglected gardens, ruined aqueduct, and falling minarets, shew that it was once a place of greater importance. It is advantageously situated, over-

[a] Νησὶ, island.

[b] Strabo, p. 366.

[c] Ἀνδρούσσα, Ἀντροῦσσα, Ἀντρούτζα.

looking the rich *Messenian* plain, on the edge of a beautiful undulated country extending westward to the mountains called Lykódhemo and Kondovúni. The Kázasi extends in that direction to within a few miles of Navarín, and to the northward comprises the site of *Messene* and the greater part of the upper *Messenian* plain, as far as the foot of the *Arcadian* mountains: its principal dependent village in that direction being Konstantínus. The district contains seventy-three villages.

April 23.—To the ruins of Messene: departing at 6.48, I proceed along the heights on which Andrússa is situated, and exactly in the direction of Mount *Evan*:—at 7.35 pass to the right of a large church in a hollow, which is a Metókhi[a] of the monastery of Vurkáno. At 8.25, under Mount *Evan*, I arrive at some Hellenic remains, which appear to have been those of a temple situated on the outside of the gate of Messene, leading to Pharæ and Corone, for the road immediately afterwards passes through an opening in a ridge of rock, which to the right is continued upward toward the summit of Mount *Evan*, thus affording a natu-

[a] Μετόχιον is an estate belonging to a monastery. It consists generally of a church, and a conventual house for one or more monks, (καλογέροι,) to which, in some cases, are added a few labourers' cottages.

ral and advantageous foundation for this part of the ancient inclosure, which is traceable, at no great distance to the left, on a continuation of the same line. The opening itself has every appearance of being artificial: just within it, is the little hamlet of Σημηζὰ, vulgarly pronounced Shimizá. From hence to the village of Mavromáti, where I arrive at 8.55, the road is at every step bordered or crossed by ancient foundations, mixed with pieces of columns and the remains of buildings. All these foundations are of the most regular kind of masonry, and are formed of large stones fitted together with great accuracy.

Mavromáti contains about twenty houses, or rather huts, situated on either side of a fine spring, from which the village derives its name, meaning Black Spring, or literally Black Eye. A copious stream, issuing from it, descends through the centre of the ancient site in a south-westerly direction. The village stands exactly at the foot of the steep hill of *Ithome*, and nearly in the centre of the inclosure of the city of Messene. The fountain is undoubtedly the ancient Clepsydra, or Water of Secrecy, and a keen etymologist might, perhaps, be disposed to consider the modern name a proof of it, from the analogy between darkness and secrecy.

Being confined all the morning by the rain to

the tower of the Spahí who commands the village, I pass the time in reading the description of Messene by Pausanias [a] which, divested of the less interesting matter, may be comprised in the following extract. "In the way from Thuria towards Arcadia, a turning to the left at the sources of the Pamisus conducts, at the end of forty stades, to the city of the Messenii under Mount Ithome; it comprehends not only Ithome, but the parts also under Mount Evan towards the Pamisus. Of the latter mountain the name is said to be derived from the Bacchic exclamation Εὐοῖ, here first uttered by Bacchus himself and the women who accompany him. The wall which surrounds Messene is built entirely of stone, as well as the towers and bulwarks [b] which fortify it. I have never seen the walls of the Babylonians, nor the Memnonian walls of the Persian Susa, nor have I heard them described by eye-witnesses, but the places which appear to me to be fortified better than others, namely, Ambrysus of Phocis, Byzantium, and Rhodus, are not to be compared in this respect to Messene. In the agora of the Messenii there is a statue of Jupiter Soter and the fountain [c] Arsinoe, which is supplied under ground from the source [d] called Clepsydra. There are

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 31, 32, 33.

[b] ἐπάλξεις.

[c] κρήνη.

[d] πηγὴ.

likewise temples of Neptune and Venus, and a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian marble, the work of Damophon, the same artist who, when the ivory of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia was disjoined, restored it in the most exact manner, for which he received honours from the Eleians. The same Damophon made also the statue of Laphria, whose worship the Messenii adopted from the Calydonii, when they received Naupactus, near Calydon, from the Athenians. The Messenii have also a temple and marble statue of Lucina[a], a sacred building[b] of the Curetes, and a holy temple of Ceres, in which are statues of the Dioscuri bearing away the daughters of Leucippus. But the greatest number of statues, and those most worthy of notice, are in the temple of Æsculapius, for, besides those of the god and his children, there are marble statues of Apollo, the Muses, Hercules, the city Thebes, Fortune, and Diana Φωσφόρος; all these are the works of Damophon, the only Messenian sculptor worthy of mention, in my knowledge. In the same place there is a statue of Epaminondas, made of iron, by another artist. The temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, contains her statue in gold and Parian marble, and in the back part

[a] Εἰληθυίας. [b] μέγαρον.

of the temple, pictures of Aphareus and his children, of Cresphontes, of Nestor and his sons Thrasymedes and Antilochus, of Leucippus, the brother of Aphareus, of Hilaeira, Phœbe, and Arsinoe, the daughters of Leucippus, of Æsculapius, who is said by the Messenii to have been the son of Arsinoe, of Machaon and Podaleirius. All these pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias, son of Nicomedes. In the building called Hierothysium are images of all those who are held to be gods by the Greeks, together with a brazen statue of Epaminondas, and some ancient tripods. In the Gymnasium are statues of Hermes, Hercules, and Theseus, the deities whom all the Greeks and many of the barbarians consider to preside over gymnasia and palæstræ. The figures are the works of Egyptian artists. In the same place I observed a pillar bearing a figure of Æthidas in relief[a]. He was a man of my time, but older[b] than me, and who, becoming powerful by his wealth, received heroic honours from the Messenii. Some of them, however, assert that this is not his figure, but that of an ancestor of the same name, who was leader of the Messenii when Demetrius, son of Philip, entered the city in the night. The gymnasium contains also the monument of

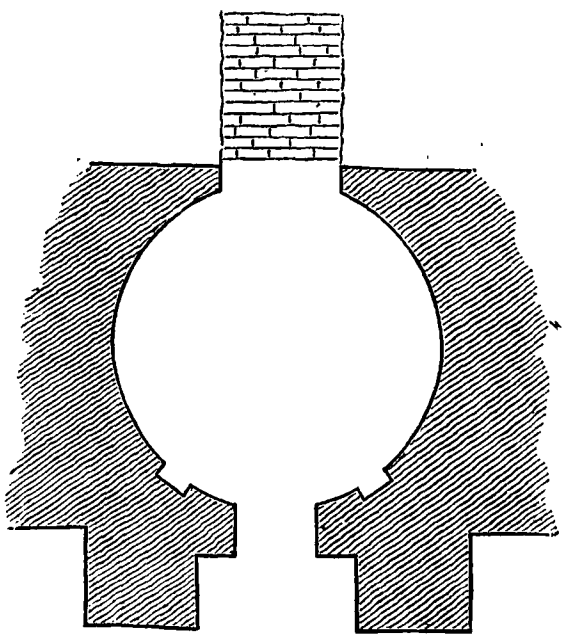
[a] ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ.

[b] Or "not older", or "not much older."

Aristomenes, whose bones, they say, were brought hither from Rhodus. In the Stadium there is a brazen statue of Aristomenes. Near the theatre stands the temple of Sarapis and Isis. The source of water called Clepsydra occurs in ascending to the summit of Ithome, which is the acropolis of the Messenii. They relate that the spring received the name Clepsydra, because the nymphs Neda and Ithome, having stolen the infant Jupiter from the Curetes, here secretly washed him. The statue of Jupiter (Ithomatas) was made by Ageladas, for the Messenii residing at Naupactus. A priest, who is elected annually, keeps the statue in his house, and there is an annual festival in honour of Jupiter Ithomatas, called Ithomæa. In proceeding to Megalopolis of Arcadia, there is in the gates a Hermes in the Attic style; for the Athenians first made Hermæ of a square form, and of them other people learnt to do the same."

At 2, I set out on a tour of the ruins, and in eighteen minutes arrive at the northern gate of the city, the same described by Pausanias in the preceding passage as that conducting to Megalopolis: there still remain about thirty yards of the ancient paved street, terminating at the gate which is situated just at the foot of Mount *Ithome;* beyond it, is a part of the woody and hilly region which surrounds Ithome

on the north, west, and south. The modern road from Andrússa to Fanári passes through the gate and descends to the bridge of Mavrozúmeno, near which a branch to the right crosses the Upper *Messenian* plain to the Dervéni of Makriplái and Londári, and another on the left leads to the Dervéni of Kokhla, and thence to Arkadhía or to Pyrgo. The first of these routes was the ancient road to Phigaleia, the second to Megalopolis, the third to Cyparissia or to Elis. The annexed plan will shew the



form of the gate, which is one of the finest specimens of Greek military architecture in

existence. It is a double gate with an intermediate circular court of sixty-two feet in diameter, in the wall of which, near the outer gate, there is a niche on each side for a statue, with an inscription over it. One only of these inscriptions is legible. It is in handsome characters in one line, indicating that the niche and its contents, perhaps the Hermes mentioned by Pausanias, had been provided by Quintus Plotius Euphemion. The form of the verb ἐπεισκεύασεν is curious. The interior masonry of the circular court is the most exact and beautiful I ever saw. The lower course is a row of stones, each about five feet and a half in length, and half as much high; upon this is placed another course of stones of equal length and of half the height, the joints of which are precisely over the centre of each stone in the lower course. The other courses are not quite so regular, but the accuracy of the joining and finishing of the stones is the same. The upper part of the walls has fallen: nine courses are the most that remain. The soffit stone of the inner door has fallen so as to rest against the side of the door way, with one end on the ground; it measures eighteen feet eight inches in length; in the other two dimensions, two feet ten inches and four feet two inches. The shrubs which grow on the summit of this ruin, and the trees and underwood which form a grove around it, give it a most

picturesque effect. But the Megalopolitan gate is only one of the fine specimens of Hellenic architecture among the ruins of Messene.

In particular the two towers, next adjacent to the gate on the slope of Mount Ithome, present, rising above the woods, as beautiful a picture to the eye, as upon a minuter examination they are interesting with a view to the history of the art of war among the Greeks, and to their military architecture at a period when it was at the highest point; for it is not one of the least interesting circumstances of these ruins, that we know them to have been built under the orders of Epaminondas. The two towers just mentioned, which, with the interjacent curtain, and the curtain between the lower tower and the gate of Megalopolis, are in a better state of preservation than the remaining walls, shew this part of the fortifications to have resembled a chain of strong redoubts, each tower constituting a fortress of itself. A flight of steps behind the curtain led to a door in the flank of the tower at half its height. The upper apartment, which was entered by the door, had a range of loop-holes, or embrasures, on a line with the door, looking along the parapet of the curtain, and was lighted by two windows above. The embrasures, of which there are some in each face of the towers, have an opening of seven inches within, and of

three feet nine inches without, so that, with a small opening, their scope is very great. The windows appear to be too high for any purpose but to give light. Both the curtains and towers in this part of the walls are constructed entirely of large squared blocks, without rubble or cement. The curtains are nine feet thick. The inner face of the towers has neither door nor window. The tower next to the gate of Megalopolis has had all the stones disjointed, like those of the Propylæa at Athens, probably by an earthquake.

The walls which stood on the steepest part of the ascent of the hill of Ithome, above the two towers, and between them and the N.W. angle of the citadel, are quite ruined; but above, at the two angles on the summit, are the remains of two other towers, each of which formed two-thirds of a circle, and this I afterwards found to be the shape of the towers at all the salient angles of the inclosure of the city. On the side of one of the circular towers, on the summit of the ridge, there is a small gate of this form.

Having descended again to the gate of Megalopolis, I continue from thence to follow a

ridge which formed the natural boundary of the site on the western side, as the rocky ridge above Simizá, which branches from Mount *Evan*, does on the opposite side of the city. At the point where the former ridge terminates in the valley, a rill which rises within the city, not far from the Megalopolitan gate, passes through the wall, and a little below the ancient inclosure joins the brook from Mavromáti, which, enlarged by another from Mount Evan, also passed through the walls. Hereabouts the ancient inclosure, though traceable in many places through the woods and shrubs as far as the summit of a cliff below the Stadium, and from thence round to Simizá, is not in such good preservation as in the other parts of the site. The towers may be described as in general about twenty-five feet square, projecting about fourteen feet from a curtain varying in length according to the nature of the ground, and eight or ten feet in thickness. The masonry was not in general such as I have described it at the great towers near the gate of Megalopolis, but, as in the generality of Greek works of defence, consisted of an exterior and interior facing of that kind of masonry filled between with rubble. These facings are, in general, formed of equal and parallel courses, but not always of rectangular stones. In short, it is precisely of the same kind

as that seen in the synchronous construction of Mantineia. The remark is important, as it indicates that the second order, or the polygonal masonry, was not practised in the fourth century B. C., though some slight traces of it were left; for had it been thought useful by the able architects of these walls, it would probably have been found in some part of the ruins. It is but natural that, as the art of building advanced, a method should become obsolete, which offered no advantage proportioned to the greater skill and labour required in the formation of the polyhedral masses, and in their exact adaptation to one another. The remains of the Long Walls of Athens argue, that a century before the building of Messene tetragonal masonry was preferred for works of defence. On referring to Italy, we find reason to think that the polygonal species was not much in use after the seventh century before the Christian æra, for the cities of that country, which furnish the finest examples of that masonry, flourished at a period anterior to the extension of the power of Rome. Undoubtedly there may have been particular instances both in Greece and Italy, in which the polygonal masonry was employed at a much later period, especially in periboli and terrace-walls; but I am inclined to think that, in general, whenever it occurs of that unmixed kind,

exhibiting no appearance of courses, the work may be attributed to the seventh or eighth centuries before the Christian æra, or to a still earlier period[a].

Between the cliff which I have mentioned and the Stadium, which is not far from it, my guides, of whom I have no less than five from the village, all uninvited, conduct me to an inscribed marble. The inscription is a mere fragment, but it is curious as being in the Doric dialect; for Pausanias remarks, that "the Messenians not only preserved their Doric customs and dialect during the 300 years of their absence from Peloponnesus, but still retained them in his time more accurately than any other people of the Peloponnesus."[b] The inscription related to that fertile subject of discussion between the states of Greece, the settlement of boundaries. The contracting parties were the Messenians (Μεσσανίοι) and the Phigalenses, here called Φιαλεῖς, a form of the name of that people which we meet with in Polybius, but which was changed to the original Φιγαλεῖς before the time of Pausanias[c]. There are the remains of three different decrees, in which nearly the

[a] From the similarity of the mode of structure in Greece and Italy at that remote period, it would seem that Pelasgic would not be an improper denomination for the polygonal masonry.

[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 27. ad fin.

[c] Pausan. Arcad. c. 5. 39.

same expressions occur, namely τοὺς ὅρους, ὅρων τῶν, "the boundaries"; ἀπὸ τοῦ κολώνου τοῦ, "from the hill of"; ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς τὰν κράναν, "in a direct line to the fountain." In the first decree there is mention also of ὕδωρ κοινὸν, the common water.

A little nearer to the Stadium I find a marble, bearing a sculpture in relief. It represents the hunting of a lion: the middle figure is the lion treading with one paw on a dog, and looking behind him at a horseman at full gallop, who holds the reins in the left hand, while the right is employed in supporting his chlamys which flies loose behind him; his leg is almost horizontal, the knee over the horse's shoulder. Before the lion is a man on foot with a double hatchet in his right hand, which is turned round over the same shoulder in such a manner as to be behind the head which hides the arm. The position is accurately expressive of the intention of striking the lion while it turns its head towards the horseman. The chlamys of the man on foot is entirely separate from his body, and is held in the left hand, flying in the wind: at his feet is a dog about to seize the lion. The horseman has a loose tunic reaching to his knees and girt round the waist. The heads of both men and animals have been purposely destroyed. The marble is a circular segment, of which the arc

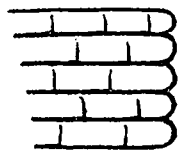
is three feet eight inches, and the chord three feet six inches and a half. It seems to have been part of a small circular monument, and the sculptures probably belonged to the frize. Another piece of the same monument lies half buried near the former; on the end which is above ground is the figure of a man stepping forward as if stabbing his antagonist with a sword.

A little way beyond this is the Stadium, on one side of which I find the fragment of an inscribed stone, with names which have evidently been engraved at different periods, and are probably those of victors in the Stadium. This stone, I am informed by my guides, was entire two years ago, when an English traveller having offered to pay for its conveyance to Nisí, some Kleftes, who came here shortly afterwards, broke the stone in pieces, in the persuasion that it contained something valuable. It was a plain quadrangular stele of white Laconian marble, inscribed on all the four sides, and is now so ruined, that I did not attempt to copy the inscription, especially as I could find no appearance of anything but names. Of the Stadium there are remains of the upper or circular end, and more than half of one of the sides. At the lower end are the ruins of a small Doric temple: columns, plain metopes, architraves, and pieces of the cell, are lying together in a heap. The dia-

meter of the upper end of the columns is one foot, nine inches; the flutings, twenty; the breadth of the metope, one foot, one inch and a half; the breadth of the triglyph, one foot. The temple stood on an artificial terrace, of which the supporting wall remains; from behind this wall issues a spring of fine water.

The Stadium was surrounded by a colonnade, which was double at the upper end: here the lower parts of the columns are in their original places; there were about twenty in each row, one foot, ten inches in diameter, with Doric flutings. Part of the colonnade, on the right side of the Stadium, is likewise in its place, and on the left side is the foundation of a public edifice, where are many pieces of columns of the same description as the colonnade round the Stadium. Perhaps this was the Hierothysium. The stone seats of the Stadium did not extend its whole length, but about two-thirds only: at the circular end, they are most perfect. The rivulet of Mavromáti runs obliquely through the length of the Stadium. About midway between the Stadium and Mavromáti, are the remains of a small theatre, about sixty feet in diameter, below which are foundations, which are possibly those of the Gymnasium. There are also the remains of two temples between the theatre and Mavromáti; in this space,

the ground rising rapidly, the slope is divided into terraces, of which the supporting walls still remain; one of these was wrought in a manner, of which I have not met with any other example, the exterior of each course being finished in a curve thus:



At the southern extremity of the city, near the place where the rivulet of Mavromáti passes through the walls, there are some remains of another temple.

Nothing can be more agreeable and retired, more singular and striking, than the whole scene of these interesting remains. By the high mountains Ithome and Evan which rise from the northern and eastern sides of the site, the city was entirely concealed from the Messenian plain, with the exception only of the summit of Ithome. It was equally hidden from all distant view in the opposite directions, by the parallel ridge called Kondovúni; it was open only laterally to the north-west and south-east. In the latter direction the site commands a view of a part of the gulf; and it is well ventilated by the wind, which draws through the opening, whether it happens to be a maestrale, or an imbát from the gulf.

The space inclosed within the city walls consists of corn-fields and pasture, amidst woods of

wild olive, caroub, and oak, mixed with a great variety of shrubs. There is a fine turf, and the cattle which are fed here supply, in the present season, excellent fresh butter and new cheese. This evening we have a strong gale from the eastward. The peculiar situation of the place, creating a salubrious ventilation in the summer, exposes it to the extreme fury of the winter storms. The spahi's pyrgo, not being quite so firmly constructed as the towers, compared by Pausanias to the bulwarks of Babylon and Rhodes, trembles to its foundations before the blast, which rushes through the opening of Andrússa, or which descends at intervals with redoubled force between *Ithome* and *Evan*.

In the village of Mavromáti I find an inscription in which occurs the name of Æthidas, who must I think be the same person Pausanias speaks of, for the monument was a dedication to Lucius Verus, and was consequently erected not long before the time when Pausanias travelled; it accords, therefore, with his remark, that Æthidas was a man nearly of his own age[a]. As the inscription refers moreover to an expense incurred by Æthidas, it accords in this particular also with the observation of Pau-

[a] The *exact* meaning of Pausanias is uncertain. The words of the text are, "Αἰθίδαν ἑμαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα," to which some of the commentators propose to add οὐ between the third and fourth words; others, οὐ πολὺ;

sanias, as to the wealth for which Æthidas was distinguished. The inscribed stone is a plain quadrangular pedestal[a] of white marble, which probably supported a statue of Lucius Verus. The inscription is in the following terms, "The Hellenes grateful to the gods, and praying for blessings on the Imperial House, (have erected,) Lucius Ælius Verus Cæsar, Tiberius Claudius Æthidas Cælianus, High-priest and Helladarch of the community of the Achæans for life, having recommended it, and defrayed the expense."

There is no appearance of the Doric dialect in this inscription, which may be accounted for by its being a dedication of the Greeks in general, and not of the Messenians, though erected in their city, at the expense of its citizen Æthidas.

April 24.—Mount *Ithome* is connected with Mount *Evan* by a sharp ridge about half a mile in length, which unites them at about the middle of their height. The slope of this ridge towards the plain is blended with that of the two mountains: but on the opposite side, or towards the city, there is a vale or hollow between them. The southern walls of *Messene* extended from the termination of the ridge of *Evan* which is above Simizá, along the hollow to the connecting ridge just described. Upon the crest of

[a] βάθρον.

the latter there are some remains of a small inclosed work which defended the pass, and was well placed for a look-out upon an enemy approaching from the plain, or along the flanks of either mountain. Below this point, on the north-eastern slope of Evan, stands the monastery of Vurkáno[a], a large building having a church with several other structures attached to it, and a garden of fruit-trees mixed with cypresses: the situation is very agreeable, and commands a noble view of the gulf and plain; but the late proceedings of Capt. George and his men, who often came to Vurkáno, followed by the persecution of the Turkish authorities, who suspected, or pretended to suspect the monks of favouring the robbers, have driven them away, as well from the convent itself, as from its metókhia, one of which stands on the summit of Ithome, the other at the foot of Evan. The latter is that which I passed on the road from Andrússa.

Between the ancient redoubt on the connecting ridge and the adjacent extremity of Ithome, I remark the foundations of one of the city gates placed exactly in the pass. A little below it, at the foot of the cliffs of Ithome, under a fragment of the wall, there is a fine source of water on the side of a road which leads down the north-eastern slope of Ithome to the bridge of

[a] Βουρκάνος.

Mavrozúmeno. As Pausanias describes the Clepsydra on the ascent to Ithome [a], it might be suspected that this was the fountain anciently so called; but it is without the walls, nor can it be conceived that this position could ever have been on the ordinary route from the centre of the city to the Acropolis. From the fountain I ascend, on foot, the steep acclivity of Ithome, and arrive on the summit at its south-eastern extremity: at the opposite end stand a church and the metókhi already mentioned. The wall of the citadel is in most parts of the same kind of masonry as that of the town; but there are some others which seem sufficiently ancient to have belonged to the elder Ithome. Probably Epaminondas found the old fortress quite dilapidated, and renewed it. Indeed it is consonant with the character of the Spartans, who despised fortifications, to suppose that they never maintained a permanent garrison in Ithome, and that they dismantled the fortress. On the northern and eastern sides, the wall runs along the edge of the perpendicular cliffs, from which the inclosed space slopes rapidly, in the opposite direction, towards the city, so that the wall of the southern and western side is built on the declivity of the mountain.

When I arrive on the summit of the moun-

[a] ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς Ἰθώμης.

tain the whole country is involved in mist and rain, and clouds are floating around and below me; but the atmosphere soon clears, and affords one of the finest prospects in Greece. To the north-west, the sea-coast between the rivers *Cyparisseeis* and *Neda* is seen through the opening between the mountain of Arkadhía and the extremity of the range of *Lycæum*. Along the northern boundary of the horizon extends the *Lycæan* range, of which the highest summit in view is now called Tetrázi. The *Lycæum* unites to the east with the mountain now named Makryplái, and the latter with the range of *Taygetum*, which closes the prospect as far as the *Messenian* Gulf. The new objects of topography, which the elevation enables me to distinguish within the horizontal circuit, are a plain at the foot of the *Lycæan* range, which is separated by hills of no great height from the Pass of Kokhla. Towards the head of this plain are situated the villages of Sulimá and Klisúra; and it is separated by some other hills, among which is the village of Buga[a], from the upper part of the great *Messenian* plain; it gives rise to the principal branch of the Mavrozúmeno, called Vasilikó. At the north-eastern angle of the upper Messenian plain rises a height, separated from the range of Makryplái by the gorge of a river, which

[a] Μπούγα.

enters the plain at a ruined mosque below the small village of Fyla or Fília, which I passed March 4, at 4½ P.M. On the summit of this advanced height there are some remains of Hellenic walls, now called Ellinikókastro, undoubtedly the ancient Andania, which, though a ruin in the time of Pausanias, was still a small city in the year 191 B.C., when it is well described by Livy[a] as lying between Megalopolis and Messene.

From hence begins the Makryplái, the continuation of which extends to Kalamáta, and ends in a point two or three miles on this side of it; I perceive the castle of Kalamáta just clear of the point. That town appears to stand in a kind of bay, between the projection just mentioned and the hill of Sélitza: at the foot of the Makryplái, southward of *Andania*, are seen, in succession, the south-eastern part of the upper Messenian plain; the village Skála, on a ridge separating that plain from the lower, which extends to the sea; the fountain of Aio Floro with its dervéni and plane tree; the sources and hamlet of Pídhima, Paleókastro, or *Thuria*, and the villages at the foot of the mountain

[a] Liv. l. 36. c. 31. Andania was the place of meeting between T. Q. Flamininus and Diophanes, commander of the Achaian forces acting against Messene, when the celebrated Roman, who had come from Eubœa for the purpose, ordered Diophanes to dismiss his army, and quickly settled the disputes of the Peloponnesians.

which I passed in coming from Kalamáta; Nisí, and the part of the plain around that town, is hidden by Mount *Evan.* To the right of that mountain is seen the mouth of the river Dhipótamo, or *Pamisus,* then the western coast of the gulf as far as Koróni, then Mount Lykódhemo, the peaked hill called Piláfi or Tavoláki, on the northern side of which passes the road from Andrússa to Navarín, then another hill clothed with oaks, standing in an elevated plain between the former and Gargaliáno, and, lastly, the range of Kondovúni, over the right hand end of which is the mountain of Arkadhía and the sea, as already described.

This comprehensive view of Messenia enables me to ascertain all the principal features of its ancient geography; at least of its eastern and most interesting part. Of the rivers, the most celebrated was the Pamisus, which Strabo describes as the largest stream in the Peloponnesus, but as being only 100 stades in length[a]. It might be supposed that this description would be sufficient to identify the Pamisus, on the most cursory view of the places; but this is not exactly the case. I have already remarked, that in the line in which Pausanias describes the fountains of the Pamisus to have been situated,

[a] Strabo, p. 361.

namely, in the road from Thuria towards Arcadia, there are two places, at which a copious stream issues from the foot of the mountain, and flows through the lower Messenian plain, and that these two rivers do not unite until within a small distance from the sea. I find, however, upon inquiry, that besides the sources at Aio Floro, there are others at the foot of the ridge of Skala, and that from all these the water collected is much greater than from the springs at Pídhima. Add to which, that the course of the Pídhima is too short, and the distance of its sources from *Messene* too great, for the 100 stades of Strabo, and the forty stades of Pausanias respectively; whereas both these distances are correct when applied to the course of the river which rises to the southward of Skala. The latter, therefore, is the *Pamisus*, and the Pídhima, as I have already shewn reason to believe, the *Aris*.

The rivers and the places in the north-eastern part of Messenia are thus noticed by Pausanias. "After having descended thirty stades from the Megalopolitan gate of Messene, occurs the river Balyra[a], so called because Thamyris threw his lyre into it when he was deprived of sight. The Leucasia and Amphi-

[a] τὸ ῥεῦμα τῆς Βαλύρας.

tus unite their waters and join the Balyra[a]. Beyond these is the Stenycleric plain, so named, it is said, from the hero Stenyclerus. On the opposite side of the plain[b], is the place anciently called Œchalia, but which is now a grove consisting chiefly of cypresses, and named Carnasium[c]. It contains statues of Apollo Carneius, of Hermes carrying a ram, and of the Pure Virgin, a denomination of the daughter of Ceres; there is a spring of water near this statue. As to the sacred rites here performed, and which I consider inferior in holiness only to those of Eleusis, they must be kept secret by me, like every thing else relating to the great goddesses—but that a brazen vase was found here by the Argive commander[d], and that the bones of Eurytus, son of Melaneus, are here preserved, my dream has not forbidden me to divulge. The river Charadrus flows by Carnasium. On proceeding eight stades to the left of Carnasium, are the ruins of Andania. On the road from thence to Cyparissiæ is the place called Polichne, and (then) the rivers Electra and Cœus. Beyond the Electra occur the fountain Achaia and the ruins of Dorium, where, accord-

[a] συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ῥεύματα.—Pausan. Messen. c. 33.

[b] τοῦ πεδίου ἀπαντικρύ.

[c] Καρνάσιον ἄλσος.

[d] Epiteles.—Vide Pausan. Messen. c. 26.

ing to Homer, Thamyris was stricken with blindness for boasting that he could surpass the Muses themselves in singing."[a]

The accompanying map of Messenia will be the best commentary upon this passage of Pausanias, and leaves me scarcely any observation to add to what my itinerary contains in illustration of it. Pausanias very naturally ends his description of the road from Andania to Cyparissiæ at the Cœus, (supposing it to have been the river of the Dervéni of Kokhla, which I followed March 4th,) as from the extremity of its vale the waters begin to flow towards the gulf of Cyparissiæ: *there* consequently were in all probability the boundaries of the two districts.

It takes me twenty-three minutes to descend from *Ithome* to Mavromáti. Considerably above the level of that village, are seen two walls forming a right angle, apparently the terrace of some building. In the way from thence to Mavromáti, five minutes short of the village, I observe also the remains of a wall, which appears to have crossed the slope of the mountain from one side to the other, forming an outer rampart of the Acropolis towards the city, a mode of fortifying which was not uncommon in the cities of Greece. The inclosure between this wall

[a] Hom. Il. B. v. 599.

and the Acropolis appears to have been the situation occupied by Demetrius the brother of Perseus, and his Macedonians, in their attempt to take Messene [a]. Demetrius had been sent to the Peloponnesus by his father Philip with a few ships, to raise some money by plunder. Having landed on the coast of the Argeia, he made a rapid march by the shortest road into Messenia, and approached Ithome in the night. Being well acquainted with the locality, he scaled the wall in the part which lay between Ithome and the city [b]. The Messenii advanced upon him from the city, while the garrison of the Acropolis assailed him from above [c]. The contest was for some time obstinate, but the Demetrians had been fatigued by their previous marches, and so vigorous was the attack of the Messenians, under the elder Æthidas, and even that of the women, who threw down stones and tiles upon them, that they were compelled at length to a disorderly flight. Many precipitated themselves over the walls from the steepest part of Ithome; some escaped by throwing away their armour.

There is one passage, and one only, in the description of Messene by Pausanias, which I

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 29. 32.

[b] ὑπερβὰς τὸ τεῖχος καθ' ὃ τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξὺ ἦν καὶ ἄκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης.

[c] ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων.

cannot reconcile with actual appearances. He says, if I have rightly understood his words, that the circuit of the city comprehended a part of Mount Evan towards the Pamisus[a], whereas the existing walls strongly testify that no part of Evan was included in the city, nor even any part of Ithome towards the Pamisus. May it have been, that before the time of Pausanias the Messenians had partly abandoned the old inclosure, and built houses on the slope of Mount Evan? Or, is there not rather some corruption in the author's text?

[a] περιέχεται οὐ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετραμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Εὐάν. — Pausan. Messen. c. 31.

CHAPTER X.

MESSENIA.

From Mavromáti to Navarín.—Neókastro.—Sphacteria.—Defeat of the Lacedæmonians in that island.—Old Navarín.—Coryphasium.—Neleian Pylus.—To Mothóni.—Methone.—To Koróni.—Adjustment of the ancient sites of Corone, Colonides, and Asine.—From Koróni by sea to Kalamáta.

April 24, continued.—At 2.25 I depart from Mavromáti, and quit with regret its fine ruins, which are equally interesting as specimens of Grecian art at a time when it was in the most perfect state, and as a historical monument of the humiliation of the pride of Sparta, from which she never recovered. At 2.32 pass to the left of Simizá;—halt eight minutes at the metókhi of Vurkáno.—At 3.10 leave Andrússa three quarters of a mile on the left, and pass over the undulated country at the back of it. At 4.10 cross a river, flowing from Mount Kondovúni, from near the monastery and village of Andromonástero[a]. At 4.35 pass over another stream from near Klima, another village on

[a] Ἀντρομονάστερον.

Kondovúni: it winds, where we cross it, through a little vale shaded with plane trees and shrubs, among which nightingales are singing in great numbers. The road continues to traverse the same kind of undulated country, intersected with low woody eminences of an excellent soil, but little cultivated. These heights are the roots of Mount Kondovúni, and are separated from each other by narrow valleys watered by small streams. At 5.35 we cross a third river by a bridge, which is in the road from Andrússa to Petalídhi. Both the bridge and the river are now usually known by the name of Djidjóri[a], which is that of the principal village on its banks. In ten minutes from thence arrive at the little village of Loghí[b], and lodge in the pyrgo of the Turk, who farms the dhekatía under the vóivoda of Andrússa, and who is now at that town. Seeing our party approach, the villagers locked up the pyrgo and fled, and it was some time before they could be persuaded tó return and let us in.

April 25.—At $6\frac{1}{2}$ I leave Loghí, and at 7 enter a narrow vale, in which runs the river Vélika, coming from Kondovúni, and flowing into the sea a little to the southward of Petalídhi. The Vélika inundated the valley a year or two ago, and carried away flocks and trees. In the bed

[a] Τζιτζιόρι. [b] Λογὴ.

of the river was afterwards found a great serpent, which was supposed to have been the *cause* of the inundation. At the bridge of the Vélika I turn to the left, after having crossed the river, and pass through the woods to the remains of a castle of the middle ages, on a peninsula formed by the windings of the river and surrounded with cliffs. Return to the bridge, having lost half an hour, and proceed over a hilly, woody, and ill-cultivated tract: at 8.10 Zaimoglú is half a mile on the right and Kurtagá three miles distant on the side of Kondovúni. At 8.20 cross a stream, flowing to the left, and soon after enter a forest of oaks which extends over all the adjacent part of the mountain on the right, and covers a great part of the range of Kondovúni, as far as the forest of Kokhla on the road from Arkadhía to *Messene*. On the right is a hill which forms the south-western extremity of Kondovúni, sloping into the elevated plain which extends from Paleó Avaríno to Arkadhía. This height, which I mentioned as having seen from *Ithome* to the right of Mount Tavoláki, is entirely covered with oaks, except near the village of Kondozóni, which stands upon it. The oaks which we pass, like those of the forest of Kokhla, are short and crooked: I see no velanidhiés among them. We have now crossed the highest of the ridges of the

undulated country which connects Kondovúni with Lykódhemo, and which separates the course of the waters flowing to the Messenian Gulf, from those tending towards the western coast. We descend, at 9.18, into an elevated vale at the foot of Lykódhemo, on its northern side. Tjabán is a quarter of a mile on the left, and two miles in the same direction, on the side of the mountain, Kambási; the country on the right is covered with oaks. At 9.48 we pass Sulinári, situated to the left in a retired hollow at the foot of Mount Lykódhemo. The three last-mentioned villages belong to the district of Mothóni. The valley terminates at the peaked hill, called Tavoláki, which we leave on the left: on the right is the hill of Kondozóni.

The harbour and island of Navarín, the ruined castle of Paleó Avaríno, and a corner of the fortress of Neókastro, now become visible, and the road enters the elevated level which extends to Gargaliáno, and from thence along the foot of a lofty mountain parallel to the shore, to Filiatrá and Arkadhía. At 10.15 we enter upon this plain, which is well cultivated with corn; to the left are barren hills, which, branching from Lykódhemo, extend to Mothóni. At 10.30 arrive at the head of the aqueduct of Neókastro. The sources issue at a sandy spot inclosed and covered by a circular building, in which

originates a stone pipe. Soon afterwards the road crosses an uncultivated tract, and, at 11.30, descends into a valley terminating in the centre of the port of Navarín, and watered by a stream called Pesíli.

At 11.20 I arrive, by a bad paved causeway, at the skála of Neókastro, and lodge in the house of Kyr Ghiórghio Ikonomópulo[a], who has all the trade of Neókastro in his hands, and is agent for some of the European nations. His house and magazines, which stand on the water side three or four hundred yards below the fort, very naturally excite the cupidity of the poor Turks of the town, who are starving by the effects of their pride and idleness. He tells me that their demands upon him are so frequent, that he finds himself under the necessity of abandoning Navarín to settle in some place, where, not being the only Greek of property, he may be less exposed to extortion.

April 26.—Edris Bey the commandant, whom I visit to-day in the fortress, is a young Stambúli, or Constantinopolitan, who, having spent the greater part of the property left him by his father, one of the chief kapidjís of the Sultan, was glad to sacrifice the remainder in obtaining this government, though, with all his efforts, its profits are so small, that he is often under the

[a] Οἰκονομόπουλος.

necessity of having recourse to Kýr Ghiórghio. There are about 300 Turkish families in the fortress, most of them in a wretched state of poverty. The castle stands on a cape, projecting towards the southern end of *Sphacteria*, off which there is a rock, called, from the tomb of a Turkish saint upon it, Deliklí-baba. Between this rock and the fortress is the entrance into the bay of Navarín, a noble basin, with a depth of water from twelve to twenty *passi*. It is said that there is occasionally some danger from the south and south-west, notwithstanding the narrowness of the entrance, which is not more than three fourths of a mile. Ships generally anchor at about a third of a mile from the skala, where they are sheltered by the point of the castle; or behind the island of Marathonísi[a], which lies a little northward of the centre of the harbour. The fortress consists of a low wall without any ditch, flanked by small bastions. On the side towards the sea, where it ought to be strongest, it has received only a miserable patching since it was battered by the Russians from the island, in the year 1770.

The district of Neókastro contains only twenty villages, none of which are large, except Vervítza, and this is not situated in the περίχωρα, or vicinity, but in *Arcadia*, not far from the

[a] Fennel island.

temple of *Phigaleia*. The agricultural productions are of the usual kind, the only exports are six or seven hundred barrels of oil in good years, some vermilion[a], tobacco, and goat-skins.

April 27. I employed the whole of this day in examining the island of Navarín, anciently called Sphacteria, or Sphagia[b], making a tour of it in a boat, and then walking over it on foot; I afterwards visited the peninsula of Paleó Avaríno; and made a plan of the whole scene, with a view to illustrate the description by Thucydides[c] of the celebrated contest between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, which occurred on this spot in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war. An extract from the narrative of the historian will be the best accompaniment to the plan.

It was in the early part of the summer, when the Lacedæmonians were making their yearly invasion of Attica by land, and the Athenian fleet was at Pylus on its route to Sicily, that the further operations of both the belligerents were for some time interrupted by an enterprise of Demosthenes, one of the commanders of the Athenian fleet, who, foreseeing that the advantages which had been derived from placing Athenians

[a] πρινοκόκκι.

[b] ἡ προκειμένη πλησίον τοῦ Πύλου Σφαγία νῆσος, ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ Σφακτηρία λεγομένη, περὶ ἣν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, &c. Strabo, p. 359.

[c] Thucyd. l. 4. c. 3. et seq.

in the garrison of Naupactus, would result, in a much greater degree, from a similar operation at Pylus, once an important city, but then only a desert promontory, had the good fortune, while the Athenian ships were wind-bound in the harbour, to effect his purpose of fortifying the peninsula of Pylus, although the measure was contrary to the opinion of his colleagues in command, and to the wishes of his followers in general. Its beneficial effects however were soon felt. The Lacedæmonian forces retreated from Attica, and the Spartan government was under the necessity of collecting another army from different parts of the Peloponnesus, which marched to Pylus by land, while their fleet was withdrawn from Corcyra, and hastened to the same place. Upon their arrival, the Lacedæmonians found Demosthenes in the harbour, with only five triremes, and two Messenian vessels, the Athenian fleet having sailed to Zacynthus on its way to Sicily. By means of their army, and sixty ships[a], the Lacedæmonians obtained immediate possession of all the neighbourhood, except Pylus. This place Demosthenes was determined upon defending, until he could receive succour from the Athenian fleet, which he had immediately

[a] By νῆες, "ships," Thucydides always means triremes; whenever he has occasion to mention vessels that were not triremes, he specifies them.

advertised of his danger. The Lacedæmonians, after having occupied Sphacteria with 420 hoplitæ, and their attendant Helots, probably about 1000 in all, proceeded to attack Pylus both by sea and land. Demosthenes, hauling up his galleys on shore, placed them so as to serve as an outwork to the adjacent part of his fortification, and having left for the defence of the walls on the land side all his troops except sixty hoplitæ and a few bowmen, he led these in person to the sea-side, at the spot where he expected that the enemy would be tempted to debark, in consequence of the weakness of that part of the wall, and the lowness of the coast. The place nevertheless was rugged, difficult of access, and open to the main sea, so that the Lacedæmoniáns, however numerous, could not attack in large bodies at the same moment; and hence the small force, headed by Demosthenes, was enabled to resist all the attacks of forty-three Laconian ships, while his garrison in the fortress successfully opposed the attempts of the enemy's land forces; until, having failed in all their endeavours during two days, the Lacedæmonians gave up the attack, and sent to Asine for timber to make engines, with a view to an assault on the fort, upon the side towards the harbour, where, though the wall was higher, the landing was easier. This ope-

ration however was prevented, by the arrival from Zacynthus of forty ships of the Athenians, who the very next day attacked and defeated the Lacedæmonian fleet in the harbour, and captured five of their triremes.

The aspect of affairs was now totally changed; —the Athenians were masters of the harbour, and threatened the entire destruction of the adverse fleet, while the enemy's garrison of Sphacteria was cut off from all probability of relief. In this alarming position, the Lacedæmonians agreed to a suspension of arms, for the purpose of sending ambassadors to Athens to treat for peace. The terms of the truce were, that all the Lacedæmonian fleet as well at Pylus as in the other parts of Laconia, should be placed in the hands of the Athenians during the truce, and that the troops in Sphacteria should be supplied with no more than a certain allowance of provisions at stated intervals. As soon as it was ascertained that the negociations at Athens had failed of producing any agreement, and the suspension of arms being in consequence at an end, an attack upon the enemy's forces in Sphacteria was resolved upon by the Athenians, not less in consideration of the advantages under which such an attack would be made by them, than of their own situation, for at the same time that they were blockading the

enemy in Sphacteria, they were themselves besieged in Pylus, where they suffered much from want of water, while to the Lacedæmonians in Sphacteria their friends brought provisions to the back of the island in the night, or whenever a strong wind setting in from the sea, obliged the Athenian galleys to keep at a distance from the shore; nor could the Athenians forget how remote they were from Athens and their nearest resources, or avoid looking forward to the embarrassed situation in which they would find themselves, if the contest should be prolonged until the approach of winter.

Thucydides describes Sphacteria as "desert, pathless, covered with wood[a], fifteen stades in length, and separated from the main land by two straits, of which the southern would admit eight or nine triremes abreast, the northern only two." At the moment when Demosthenes was meditating an attack, it happened that the Lacedæmonians, being much crowded, and making many fires for cooking their provisions, a conflagration accidentally took place, which, clearing the ground of the wood, afforded the Athenian commander a better knowledge of the enemy's position and numbers than he had before possessed, as well as a greater facility for the movement of his troops, when they should

[a] ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀτρεκὴς πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐρημίας.

be landed. Just at this time, Cleon, who was appointed the associate of Demosthenes in the command, arrived from Athens with a reinforcement. The first step taken was to send a proposal to the Lacedæmonians on the continent to treat for the surrender of their comrades on the island; this having been refused, on the following evening all the Athenian hoplitæ embarked in a few triremes, crossed the harbour in the night, and having landed a little before day, as well from the open sea as from the harbour, to the number of 800 hoplitæ, marched towards the advanced guard of the enemy. "For thus," adds the historian, "the Lacedæmonians lay quartered. In the advance there were about thirty hoplitæ; in the middle and most level part of the island, and around the water, lay Epitadas the commander, with the larger portion of his troops; the remainder, not many in number, occupied the extremity of the island towards Pylus, where it was precipitous towards the sea, and on the land side very difficult to attack. Here stood an old castle, built of rough stones [a], which they thought might be useful to them, should they be obliged to retreat before superior numbers. Thus were they disposed."

"The advanced posts were taken by surprise,

[a] λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον.

and the men were captured or slain. In the morning all the forces were landed from the Athenian fleet, which now amounted to upwards of seventy sail. The Athenian hoplitæ opposed the Spartans in front, but without coming to an engagement, while their light troops occupying the heights in every direction, incessantly annoyed the enemy's flanks and rear, and derived from their numbers a confidence which increased with success. The Spartans, tormented by adversaries whom they could not reach, and almost blinded by the dust of the woods lately burnt, were at length under the necessity of retreating to the old fort upon the hill towards Pylus. Here secured on their flanks and rear, and presenting a narrow front to the enemy, they resisted all the attacks of the very superior force of the enemy for the greater part of the day, and as both parties were almost equally distressed by fatigue, thirst, and the heat of the sun, they would probably have maintained their post still longer, had not the chief of the Messenians proposed to the Athenian commanders to lead a party of men under the cliffs where they should be unseen by the Lacedæmonians, and thus to come round upon their rear. With some difficulty this movement was successfully effected, upon which the Lacedæmonians being summoned to surrender, and having received a sort of consent

from their friends on the opposite side of the harbour, gave up their arms, and were conveyed prisoners on board the Athenian galleys to the number of 292, the rest of the 420 having been slain. The investment of Sphacteria had lasted seventy-two days, from the time of the naval action in the harbour. During the first twenty days, the Spartans received stated quantities of provisions, according to the terms of the truce; during the remainder of the time they were supplied by stealth. The humiliation of their arrogant and hitherto successful enemy, was by no means the only advantage which the Athenians derived from their success at Pylus; for the Lacedæmonians lost also the whole of their fleet, which by the terms of the truce had been placed as a pledge in the hands of the Athenians, and which they now kept on the pretence, that during the truce the Lacedæmonians had, contrary to an article of the convention, committed hostilities against Pylus."

An inspection of the island illustrates the description of Thucydides in the most satisfactory manner; the level and source of water in the middle where the Lacedæmonians encamped—the summit at the northern end to which they retired—the landing-places on the western side, to which the Helots brought provisions, are all perfectly recognizable. Of the fort, of loose

and rude construction on the summit, it is not to be expected that any remains should now exist; but there are some ruins of a signal-tower of a later age, on the same site. The summit is a pile of rough rocks ending in a peak; it slopes gradually to the shore on every side, except to the harbour, where the cliffs are perpendicular, though here, just above the water, there is a small slope capable of admitting the passage of a body of men active in climbing among rocks and difficult places. By this pass it is probable the Messenians came upon the rear of the Lacedæmonians on the summit, for just at the southern termination of the pass there is a passage through the cliffs which border the greater part of the eastern shore of the island, so that by this opening and along the pass under the rocks to the northward of it, the Messenians had the means of passing unseen from the centre of the island to the rear of the Lacedæmonians on the summit. Though this hill, as I have observed, slopes gradually from its rocky peak to the shore, on every side except towards the harbour, it does not admit of a landing at its foot, except in the calmest weather, nor is it easily assailed on any side by land, on account of the ruggedness of the summit, except by the means to which the Messenians resorted, so that the words of Thucy-

dides respecting it are perfectly accurate[a]. The southern extremity of the island is rocky, steep, and difficult of access, and forms a separate hill; in every other part the ground slopes from the cliffs on the side of the harbour to the western shore, which, though rocky, is low, so that when the weather is calm, it is more easy in face of an opponent to land, and to make way into the island on that side than on the eastern shore, where the cliffs admit of an easy access only in two places, one towards the northern end, of which I have already spoken, the other in the middle of the island, where an opening in the cliffs leads immediately into the most level part of it; exactly in the opening stands a small church of the Panaghía. There are also two small creeks adjacent to each other, near the southern end of the eastern side of the island, opposite to Neókastro: near these creeks there is a well.

The principal source of water is towards the middle of the island, at an excavation in the rock twenty feet deep, which seems to be more natural than artificial; for below a shallow surface of soil, in which there is a circular peristomium of modern masonry, the excavation in the rock is irregular and slanting. The island furnishes a fine pasture in the present season, and horses at sixty paras a head are sent into it

[a] ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἤκιστα ἐπίμαχον.

for the spring fodder, to which in Turkey they are universally accustomed. They have nothing to drink all the time they are in the island. In one or two places there are groves of high bushes, and there are low shrubs in every part of it. It often happens, as it did in the seventh summer of the Peloponnesian war, that a fire, occurring accidentally or of intention, clears the face of the island during the droughts of that season: the northern hill exhibits at this moment recent marks of a similar conflagration.

The promontory *Coryphasium* is crowned with the ruins of a fortress or castle of the middle ages, called Paleó-Avaríno [a]. Avaríno has been changed into Navaríno by the habit of using the accusative case, εἰς τὸν Ἀβαρῖνον, and by attaching, in common pronunciation, the final N of the article to the substantive. Navaríno, however, is a form of the name, more Italian than Greek. Below the ruined fortress on the northern side, at the bottom of the cliffs, there is a fine cavern called Vodhio, or Vóidho-Kiliá [b], "the ox's belly", which gives name also to a small circular port immediately below it.

The cavern is sixty feet long, forty wide, and forty high, having a roof like a Gothic arch. The entrance is triangular, thirty feet long and twelve high; at the top of the cavern there is

[a] Παλαιὸς Ἀβαρῖνος. [b] Βοϊδο-κοιλιά.

an opening in the surface of the hill above, which may have served for a secret communication between the castle of Avaríno and the harbour. In the cavern just under the hole, I found a dead hare, which seems to have been killed by falling through it. The earth of the cavern is used for making nitre, by a process of simple boiling and crystallization. There is another cavern in the cliffs, on the northern side of the harbour, not so large as the Voidho-Kiliá. The harbour has a narrow entrance between low abrupt cliffs; it is nevertheless bad, exposed to a continual surf, and capable only of admitting boats. It is separated, by a low semicircular ridge of sand, from a large shallow lagoon abounding in fish, the catching of which is a monopoly belonging to the government, and is generally farmed by the governor of Neókastro. The lagoon encompasses all the eastern side of the hill of *Coryphasium*, and is separated from the harbour of Navarín by another sandy stripe of land, in which there is a narrow opening which forms the communication between the harbour and the lagoon: there is a sandy level between the hill and the lagoon, both at the northern and at the southern extremity of the promontory.

Pausanias [a] thus describes Coryphasium.

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 36.

"There is a road, of not more than a hundred stades in length, from Mothone to the promontory Coryphasium, upon which Pylus is situated; this city was founded by Pylus, son of Cleson, with a colony of Leleges from the Megaris, but who, having been soon driven out by some Pelasgi from Iolcus, who were led by Neleus, went to the neighbouring country of Eleia, and there founded another Pylus. Neleus raised Pylus to such dignity that Homer calls it Νηλήϊον ἄστυ. Here is a temple of Minerva Coryphasia, and a house named the House of Nestor, which contains a picture of him. Within the town there is a monument[a] of Nestor, and a little without the town that which is called the tomb of Thrasymedes. In the city there is a cavern which is said to have been the stable of the oxen of Neleus and Nestor. It appears to me, that these oxen fed at a distance from the city, for all around it the country is sandy, and this Homer testifies, who always calls Nestor king of the sandy Pylus. The island Sphacteria lies before the harbour of Pylus, like Rheneia before the anchorage of Delus. In like manner as other obscure places, such as Caphareus and Psyttaleia, have been rendered celebrated by human fortunes, so also Sphacteria has been made known to all the world, by the

[a] μνῆμα.

defeat of the Lacedæmonians; in memory of which event the Athenians erected a statue of Victory in the Acropolis."

It is here seen, that Pausanias, like Thucydides, says not a word of the lagoon near Coryphasium, which now forms so remarkable a feature in the topography of Navarín: we may confidently conclude, therefore, that it is of recent formation. The mode in which such shallow maritime salt lakes (by the ancients called λιμνοθαλάτται, or στομαλίμναι) are formed in process of time on low sandy shores is well known: and the frequency of their occurrence on the coasts of the Mediterranean, renders the supposition of the ancient non-existence of the lagoon the more probable in the present instance. The peninsula of Pylus must, in that case, have been surrounded anciently with a sandy plain as Pausanias describes it, and thus the epithet of Homer becomes so much the more applicable to the Coryphasian Pylus.

Coryphasium, like Sphacteria, is a precipice on the eastern side, or towards the lagoon. To the westward, or towards the open sea, it slopes gradually, particularly on the south-west, where Demosthenes succeeded in opposing the landing of Brasidas and the Lacedæmonians. Like the island also, the promontory is higher at the northern end, so that the cliffs on the eastern

side of the hill diminish in height from north to south: it was at the latter extremity, where the shore, though rocky, is sheltered from the open sea, that a debarkation was more practicable; and here it seems to have been that the Lacedæmonians, after having failed in the former attempt to land, projected an attack upon the wall of the Athenians; for here, though the wall was higher, the landing, as Thucydides observes, was easier than in other parts.

In the clear and consistent narrative of the contemporary historian, there is but one assertion which can offer any difficulty on an actual inspection of the locality. He says that the northern entrance of the harbour of Pylus admitted of the passage of two ships, and the southern of eight or nine [a]. Now the southern entrance is certainly more than 1200 yards [b] wide, and the northern is about 150; the proportions of the numbers, therefore, do not agree, and even if we were to apply his remark to the northern entrance, as furnishing the lower scale of comparison, it would follow that the ancient triremes required a space of between two and three hundred feet for their movements, which it is impossible to believe. All that can be said in explanation is, that Thucydides was not

[a] τῇ μὲν δυεῖν νεοῖν διαπλοῦν, τῇδὲ ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννεά.

[b] A recent survey makes it more than 1400.

himself engaged in the affair at Pylus, being employed at that time in Thrace; so that he may never have seen or carefully examined the breadth of the harbour's mouth, and may have been misinformed respecting it.

According to the truce entered into by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonian garrison in Coryphasium was not to pass beyond the mountains Buphras and Tomeus [a]. As the object of the article must have been to give that garrison the advantage of the plain to a certain extent to the eastward, it is probable that Buphras and Tomeus were the two hills now called Kondozóni and Tavoláki. I will not pretend to say which of them has the best claim by its form to have received its name from a supposed resemblance to the instrument for cutting leather called τομεὺς [b].

The situation of the Πύλος Νηλήϊος, or Pylus of Neleus and his successors, appears to have been a much disputed question in the time of the Roman Empire. Strabo quotes a proverbial verse, to shew that there were three Pyli near the western coast of the Peloponnesus [c],

[a] Thucyd. l. 4. c. 118.

[b] Ἔστι καὶ Τομαῖον ὄρος παρὰ τὸ Κορυφάσιον τοῦ Πύλου ἐοικὸς σμίλῃ. Stephan. in Τομεύς.

[c] Ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο Πύλος γε μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄλλος. Strabo, p. 339.

all of which claimed the honour of being the Pylus of Nestor. One was in the Eleia to the eastward of Elis, the second in Tryphylia, about four miles from the coast, between Lepreum and Samicum, the third at Coryphasium. Concerning the second of these Pausanias is silent, and even Strabo speaks of it only as a site. Nevertheless he thinks it was the real Neleian Pylus, which Pausanias, on the contrary, does not hesitate, as we have just seen, in fixing at Coryphasium, although at the same time agreeing in opinion with the people of Elis [a], that Homer, in describing the Alpheius as "flowing through the land of the Pylii," [b] had the Eleiac Pylus in view. It seems much more probable, however, that the poet, by the land of the Pylii, intended the whole Neleian kingdom, for he employs the single word Πύλος with the same meaning, describing both Thryoessa on the Alpheius [c] and the cities of the Messeniac Gulf [d] as the extreme or frontier places of Pylus. Strabo himself was sensible [e] that such was the meaning of Homer, as well in these instances, as in that of Πυλίων διὰ γαίης. These words, therefore, may rather be taken as an indication that the Neleian kingdom extended

[a] Paus. El. Post. c. 22.

[b] Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅστ' εὐρὺ ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης. Il. E. v. 545.

[c] νειάτη Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος. Il. A. v. 711.

[d] νίαται Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος. Il. I. vv. 153. 295.

[e] Strabo, pp. 337. 350.

to the northward of the Alpheius, and that it included the Pisatis, having been bounded perhaps by the cape now called Katákoïo, and the ridge which branches inland from thence.

Strabo[a] allows that the Messenian Pylii had a better claim than those of the Eleia to the honour in question, and admits that the greater part of the poets and later writers, supposed Nestor to have been of Messenia, as indeed, we find, upon a reference to Pindar, Thucydides, Diodorus[b], and others. But, he adds, the Ὁμηρικώτεροι, or those who followed the words of Homer, insisted that the Pylus of Nestor must have been that, through the lands of which the Alpheius flowed, and this argument, the only one which the Pylii of Eleia could adduce for their claim, he thinks applicable to Pylus of Triphylia.

In favour of the Pylii of Triphylia, against those of Coryphasium, he brings forward the following passages of the poet. First, the description which Nestor gives in the Iliad[c] of his juvenile exploits against the Epeii, in revenge for the hostilities of Hercules against Pylus, in which all the children of Neleus, except Nestor, had perished. Nestor having resolved upon a

[a] Strabo, pp. 339, 340. l. 15. c. 66.
[b] Pind. Pyth. Od. 6. v. 35. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 3. — Diodor.
[c] Hom. Il. A. 669.

predatory incursion into Elis, marched thither suddenly and carried off fifty herds of oxen, as many of sheep, as many of hogs, as many of goats, with fifty mares followed by numerous foals. All these, some of which, observes Strabo, were animals neither capable of moving fast nor far[a], Nestor lodged safely at night in the Neleian city. The third day, the Epeii having collected their forces at Thryoessa, on the Alpheius, with the intention of besieging it, the news was brought to Pylus in the night by Minerva, upon which Nestor led forth his cavalry, and after a day's march halted at the Minyeius, which joined the sea near Arene[b]. Here he waited until the morning, when, moving forward, he arrived on the Alpheius at noon. Both these operations, says Strabo, were impracticable if the Neleian city had been at Coryphasium, but practicable if the situation was that of the Triphyliac Pylus.

His arguments from the Odyssey are, that after Telemachus, coming from Ithaca, had disembarked at the temple of Neptune, and arrived

[a] οὐδὲ ὠκυπορεῖν, οὐδὲ μακροπορεῖν.—Strabo, p. 353.

[b] It must be remembered that the Minyeius, so called from the Minyæ, who once possessed this country, (v. Herodot. l. 4. c. 148.—Strabo, p. 347,) was the same river as the Anigrus; and that Arene, as we have seen both from Strabo and Pausanias, was probably the same place as Samicum, (v. Chapter II.)

at Pylus, a courier was dispatched to the ship to invite his companions[a]; and again, that on returning from Sparta and approaching Pylus, Telemachus desired Pisistratus to turn off to the sea-side[b]:—both these incidents, says Strabo[c], shewing that the city of Nestor was not on the sea-side, like the Messeniac Pylus, but removed from it, like the Triphyliac, which was more than thirty stades distant from the shore.

Again[d], that Telemachus, on his return from Pylus towards Ithaca, speaks only of his passing Cruni, Chalcis, Pheia, and Elis; whereas, says Strabo[e], had Nestor lived at Coryphasium, his route would have been marked by the great rivers Neda, Acidon, and Alpheius, instead of such obscure brooks or places as Cruni, Chalcis, and Pheia.

The geographer then applies the same tests to the Eliac Pylus, and easily shews the absurdity of its claim, though he strangely errs in supposing that this Pylus was on the sea-side[f], since we have the testimony of Pausanias who visited its ruins, in agreement with that of other authors, to shew that it was situated some ten miles farther inland than the city of Elis[g].

[a] Hom. Od. γ. 423.
[b] Ibid. ο. 199.
[c] Strabo, p. 350.
[d] Hom. Od. ο. 295.
[e] Strabo, p. 351.
[f] Ibid. pp. 339. 350.
[g] Diodor. l. 14. c. 17.—Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 5.—Pausan. Eliac. post. c. 22.

In support of the opinion which places the Neleian Pylus at Coryphasium, now Old Navarín, it may first be replied to Strabo, that the march of Nestor to the Minyeius, supposing it to have been performed solely with cavalry, was not impracticable, for the information of Minerva having been received in the night, it was not difficult to make a forty miles' march with cavalry before the ensuing evening. As to the driving of the cattle, that perhaps must be admitted as a poetical licence, like the numbers of each kind of cattle so curiously enumerated by the poet; indeed, if possibility is to be considered, Strabo's hypothesis will hardly stand that test, since it would scarcely have been possible to drive such a multitude of cattle from the Alpheius to the Triphyliac Pylus, on the evening of a day which had been employed in collecting them. In regard to the argument founded upon the mention by Homer of Cruni, Chalcis, and Pheia, and upon his not mentioning the Neda and Alpheius, it is to be observed that, in either case, whether Telemachus came from the Triphyliac or the Messenian Pylus, the Alpheius was to be passed. The omission of that great river, therefore, is to be accounted for in either case. But, in fact, the verse which names those places, though Strabo himself considered it as genuine,

is of very doubtful authenticity. It occurs again in the Hymn to Apollo, together with some other lines, in all which the topography is confused and unintelligible upon any hypothesis. The verse was not admitted by Didymus, and was first added by Barnes upon the authority alone of Strabo.

In support of the claim of the Messeniac Pylus it may be said, that the epithet sandy is peculiarly well suited to Coryphasium, which is a peninsula surrounded by an extensive plain of sand, now in great part occupied by a lagoon, but anciently, as it would appear from Pausanias and other authors, not so submerged. Strabo, it may be remarked on this head, conscious apparently that the epithet sandy would not apply to the Triphyliac Pylus, where there is no sand except on the sea-shore near Samicum and towards the Neda, is under the necessity of supposing that Πύλος ἠμαθόεις meant Pylus on the Amathus, a river not mentioned by any other author, but which he supposes to have been the same called in his time Mamaus, or Pamisus, or Arcadicus[a]. In reference to the argument which Strabo derives from the too great proximity of Coryphasium to the sea, because it would have been unnecessary for Telemachus

[a] Strabo, pp. 336. 339. 344.

to have proceeded to the city in a chariot, or to have sent it afterwards to the sea-side for his companions, the objection would be valid enough, if the landing had taken place in the port of Voidhokiliá, but if it was effected in the harbour of Navarín, where it is more probable that the temple of Neptune stood, the use of the chariot of Pisistratus would have been very convenient to Telemachus and his companions.

But the strongest arguments in favour of Coryphasium seem to be the two following, first, the much greater probability that Neleus should have chosen for his settlement a strong site and a fine harbour, than a place which afforded neither the one nor the other, and where Telemachus, having come from Ithaca with a brisk *maestrale*, such as Minerva gave him [b], could not have landed at all:—and, secondly, the situation of Coryphasium, or the Messenian Pylus, relatively to Pheræ and Sparta. In fact, these three places lie exactly in a direct line; from Pylus to Pheræ there is a distance of about thirty-five miles by the road, chiefly of level ground;—from Pheræ to Sparta there are about twenty-eight miles, chiefly of mountain. Telemachus, going from Pylus to Sparta, drove his horses thither, without changing them, in two

[b] Hom. Od. B. 420.

days, lodging the first night at Pheræ, and he returned to Pylus in the same manner[a]. The position of Coryphasium, therefore, is perfectly conformable to this incident in the story, whereas, if the Triphyliac Pylus had been the residence of Nestor, Telemachus would have had a journey of sixty miles the first and the last days of his journey, and Pheræ would not have been on his nearest road.

The chief objection to Paleo Avarino as the site of a capital city, is the scarcity of water, an inconvenience which the Athenians experienced when they defended Coryphasium. It may, perhaps, have been one reason why Pylus never flourished as a city, except during the Neleian dynasty. After the return of the Heracleidæ it seems to have gradually declined, until, at the end of the second Messenian war, the inhabitants migrated into Sicily, in preference to remaining under the Lacedæmonian yoke, and its name never occurs again in history until the Peloponnesian war, when we find it a "desert promontory." Though Strabo and Pausanias shew that Pylus had so far revived in the time of the Roman empire as to possess some inhabitants, it was probably quite deserted before the middle ages, when we may suppose the

[a] Hom. Od. γ. 485.—o. 182.

castle now existing with the name Avarino[a] to have arisen. This name, I believe, is not found in history before the middle of the fifteenth century, when it occurs in the narrative of Phranza, and in a marginal note of Gemistus Pletho, as the situation of the Messenian Pylus. Chalcocondylas, relating the same transaction as Phranza, does not mention the name Avarino, though he speaks repeatedly of Pylus, prefering, undoubtedly, as in other instances, the classical to the real appellation. It is probable that the modern name is of the same date as the ruined castle to which it now belongs, and that it came into use together with the names Moréa, Myzithrá, Maíni, Ieráki, Monemvasía, which, though we do not meet with them in the Byzantine history before the year 1300, are probably as early in their origin, or nearly so, as those of Ioánnina and some others in northern Greece, which are found to have existed in the eleventh century.

There is no portion of the Peloponnesus less noticed by ancient authors, than the part of Messenia lying between Coryphasium and Cyparissia, though its length is not less than twenty miles. It consists of a long and lofty ridge lying in a direction parallel to the shore, and

[a] Ἀβαρῖνος.

connected, eastward, with Mount Kondovúni and the mountain of Arkadhía. The ancient name of this ridge, at least in its southern part, appears from Strabo to have been Ægaleum, for under Ægaleum, according to the geographer, stood the Messenian Pylus, from whence, he says, when that city was ruined, some of the remaining inhabitants went to settle at the promontory Coryphasium, giving to it the name of Pylus[a]. That he conceived the original Messenian Pylus and Coryphasium to have been separate places, though near to one another, is apparent, from his describing them as "maritime castles[b], situated at a distanue of 400 stades from Pylus of Triphylia."[c]

Pausanias has not noticed a single place between Pylus and Cyparissia, but Strabo twice mentions a town of Erana[d] as so situated; he names another place Platamodes, distant 120 stades from Coryphasium[e], and if his text be correct, a third called Cenerium. "Beyond Cyparisseeis," he says[f], "in sailing along the coast to the Messeniac Pylus and Coryphasium, there occurs Erana, which some improperly suppose to have been called Arene[g], being the same

[a] Strabo, p. 359.
[b] φρούρια.
[c] Strabo, p. 348.
[d] Id, pp. 348, 361.
[e] Strabo, p. 348.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] This remark is repeated by Strabo, p. 361.

name as that of the town near Pylus (of Triphylia). There is likewise a certain Platamodes, from whence to Coryphasium, and the place which is now named Pylus, the distance is 120 stades. There is also a κενήριον (cenotaph) and a small town of that name." It seems not improbable that Cenerium was the same old site of Pylus, which the geographer describes [a] as lying under Mount Ægaleum, and that the name Cenerium was derived from a cenotaph of Neleus, or Nestor, which may have existed there.

As Platamodes was 120 stades distant from Coryphasium, its situation appears to have been not far from that of Aia Kyriakí; Erana, therefore, according to Strabo, must have been between that position and Arkadhía.

Pliny places a promontory, Platanodes, between the Alpheius and the Gulf of Cyparissia [b]; in which, as we have just seen, he is at variance with the better authority of Strabo. But it is not improbable that he confounded Platanodes with Platanistus, and that Khaiáffa was the place intended by him, that being the only projection of the coast between the *Alpheius* and *Cypa-*

[a] Strabo, p. 359.

[b] Promontorium Ichthys, amnis Alpheus—promontorium Platanodes—ad meridiem Cyparissius sinus cum urbe Cyparissiâ. Plin. H. N. l. 4. c. 5.

rissia; for that *Platanistus* was near Khaiáffa, may be inferred from the circumstance of the temple of Neptune Samius, near Samicum, having been in the custody of the Macistii, or inhabitants of Macistus, which town in the time of Strabo was called Platanistus.

The island opposite to Gargaliáno still preserves its ancient name, Proti [a], though some of the Greek seamen, following the Italian corruption, call it Prodano.

Ptolemy thus enumerates the places on the western coast of Messenia, in a direction from north to south. Cyparissiæ, the promontory Cyparissium, the mouth of the river Sela, Pylus, the promontory Coryphasium, Methone. Hence it would seem that the promontory on the southern side of Arkadhía had no other distinction than the name of the neighbouring city. In like manner it is now known by that of the Cape of Arkadhía. *Sela* was probably the river Longovárdho.

April 28.—This afternoon, at 3.10, in company with Kyr Ikonomópulo, I quit Navarín for Mothóni. The road leads between a desert hill at the back of Neókastro, and a high peaked mountain sloping on the north and west directly into the sea, and called Mount St. Nicholas,

[a] Thucyd. l. 4. c. 13. Stephan in Πρωτη.

from a church of that saint near the summit, which is much frequented by the women of the neighbourhood on the saint's feast day, and some other occasions. The ruins of an old Venetian aqueduct are seen in the hollow near the road side: at 3.43 we are directly under the summit of St. Nicholas. At 4.10 enter the cornfields and olive plantations belonging to the Modón-Kázasi, or district of Mothóni, with a small village, called 'Opsimo, on the left. The soil is of a deep red colour, and not reckoned very good: it is prepared for kalambókki. From hence to Mothóni the road lies through plantations of olives. The Menzil distance from Neókastro is exactly two hours. At one mile and a half short of the town, I leave the road and turn to the hill on the right to see an excavation in the rock, which, since it ceased to be a Hellenic sepulchre, has been a chapel or hermitage, as appears by the remains of some Greek paintings; it now serves for a sheepfold, though still known by the name of the saint to whom it was dedicated, Aio Onúfrio, or St. Humphrey[a]. Mothóni is situated on the extreme point of a rocky ridge, which stretches southward along the coast from the foot of Mount St. Nicholas. Off the outer end of the

[a] Ἅγιος Ὀνούφριος.

town is the little insulated rock, which Pausanias[a] calls Mothon, and which he describes as forming at once a narrow entrance and a shelter to the harbour of his time: it is now occupied by a tower and lantern, which is connected by a bridge with the fortification of Mothóni. A mole branches from it, which runs parallel to the eastern wall of the town, and forms a harbour for small vessels. It seems to be exactly in the position of the ancient port, the entrance into which was probably where the bridge now stands. My lodging is in a kiosque, or Turkish casino, in the garden of the commandant, Mehmét Agá. This garden and several others mixed with corn-fields and olive plantations, embellish a small plain on the eastern side of the town, in the midst of which there is a fine well, constructed by the Venetians, and a bridge over a torrent now dry. The place is suffering much from the want of rain.

April 29.—Visit Mehmét Agá and the town. Just within the land gate is the old Venetian piazza; in the midst of it stands the shaft of an ancient granite column about three feet in diameter and twelve feet high, with a barbarous base and capital, which appear to have been added by the Venetians when they fixed upon

[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 35.

the top of it a figure of the Lion of St. Mark, the usual symbol of the Venetian Republic, and which the Turks of the Moréa call To aio skylí[a], "the sacred dog." On one side of it I distinguish the following characters:

COL CCCCLXXXXIII
HLICER NIC LEO SVPER

on the opposite side these—

R ORI FRANCISCI BR
IIOSPICIT ALTA MARIS

The date appears to have been 1493, and the last words of the inscription "prospicit alta maris." The lion, however, did not keep a good look-out, for Mothóni was taken from the Venetians by Sultan Bayazíd the Second, only six years afterwards. There are steps leading up to the pedestal of the column.

The town of Mothóni contains 400 Turkish families, living in poverty and idleness. Their chief traffic is in black slaves, whom they embark on the coast of Africa, and sell to the Musulmans of Greece. The fortifications are in a wretched state of repair, though in construction they are

[a] τὸ ἅγιον σκυλί.

far more respectable than those of Neókastro; the land-front has a much higher profile, and there is a ditch intended to be wet and to communicate from sea to sea, but now dry and full of rubbish. Towards the sea both towers and walls are falling to ruin. Mothóni is one of those convenient and important situations which have always been occupied: and hence it is that we find no remains of Hellenic antiquity, the materials having been long since converted to the repair of modern dwellings and fortifications. Strabo and other authors write the name Μεθώνη; by Pausanias it is written, as at present, Μοθώνη. The difference is merely dialectic, and the present form was perhaps always in use in Messenia. Pausanias[a] remarked here a temple and statue of Minerva Anemotis, founded, it was said, by Diomedes, because, upon his prayers, the goddess mitigated the violence of the winds which injured the district, and thenceforth, adds Pausanias, the winds have continued to be moderate. Standing upon a promontory open to a great expanse of sea in the direction of the prevailing breezes, Mothóni enjoys a temperate and salubrious climate, though I doubt not, that in spite of Minerva it is often

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 35.

exposed to furious gales in winter, and even in summer may have sometimes too much of the Etesian breezes. There was a temple of Diana at Methone, and a well of bituminous water[a], which Pausanias describes as similar to ointment of Cyzicus[b], both in smell and colour. I cannot learn any tidings of it.

The Greeks of Mothóni live in a suburb[c] on the height to the northward of the fortress, where are about forty houses. The villages of the Kazá, in number forty-five, are entirely inhabited by Greeks. The oil of the Vilayéti amounts in good years to 4000 barrels for exportation, besides what is consumed in the district. A small quantity of silk is usually put on board a ship from Tunis, which takes annually about 2500 okes of the same commodity from Koróni, and 3000 from Nisí: there is generally also some exportation of wine and cotton, in the vessels of the place. The islands of Sapiénza and Skhiza, anciently called Œnussæ, are considered, like those of *Prote* and *Sphacteria*, valuable for the pasture which they afford to cattle and horses in the spring. Between Sapiénza and Skhiza there is another smaller island, a fourth

[a] ὕδωρ ἐν Φρέατι κεκραμένον πίσσῃ.

[b] μύρῳ Κυζικηνῷ.

[c] βαρουῦσι.—This word, of Sclavonic derivation, is applied in every part of European Turkey, to the Christian quarter of a Turkish town.

much smaller in the channel between Sapiénza and the bay of Mothóni, and two or three others near the coast to the northward of the town.

I find here a person who calls himself Prince Joseph, but without adding to what family or nation he belongs. He has been several months in Jerusalem and other parts of Syria, and has now remained near a year at Mothóni, living in the house of Signor Rafaelli, the Consul of Ragusa;—without having visited any other part of the Moréa. He attempts to speak Italian, but his language more resembles Latin, from which it seems probable that he is a Pole or Hungarian. He has spent a good deal of money, the greater part received for bills from poor Rafaelli, who will find, I suspect, that he has had the honour of entertaining an impostor.

April 30.—At 6.15 I quit the Agá's kiosk, and passing through the gardens and corn-fields in the valley of Mothóni, ascend the hill on the eastern side of the valley: at 6.55 the little village of Deliklítzi is on the left. For some distance the olive plantations continue, but afterwards the road leads over barren hills, till at 7.47 we halt for two or three minutes in a cultivated valley, at the head of an inlet of the sea opposite the east end of Skhiza, which island is by the Italians called Capri, or Cabrera. The inlet seems to be the port Phœnicus of Pausa-

nias[a]. At 8 we cross a river flowing into it from the village of Lakanádha, or rather of the Lakanádhes[b]; for there are two of the name. At 8.35, on the right, not far from the innermost part of the inlet above mentioned, are ruins of a small village, apparently of the date of the lower empire. On the sea-side there is a guard tower on a hill: from hence we ascend the barren mountain, which, northward, is connected with *Temathia*, now Lykódhemo, and in the other direction ends in Cape *Acritas*, now called Kavo Gallo. At 9.11 arrive at the little village of Grivi on the top of the mountain, where we halt ten minutes. It would seem from Thucydides, that all this mountain was anciently covered with wood, for it was to Asine, the first town in the Messeniac gulf after doubling Cape Acritas, that the Lacedæmonians sent for timber for their works at Pylus.

We soon begin to descend the mountain by a rocky road, and look down upon the forest of olives which surrounds Koróni to the distance of three miles. At 10.40 enter the cultivated country on the eastern side of the mountain at the village of Kadír-oglú which is surrounded with some fine cypress groves. Pass through olive grounds and corn fields, among which are

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 34. [b] Λακανάδαις.

two or three small villages built of sun-baked bricks, and at 11.35, after traversing the Varúsi, or Greek suburb of Koróni, arrive at the house of Mustafá Bey on the sea-side; his harém is in the castle, where, likewise, his four nephews have a serai. Another large house near the sea is occupied by Isa Bassa, a rich Turk, who has also a house in the castle: besides these chiefs there are about 200 Turkish families in the fortress, and 130 Greek in the suburb. The French Consul-General Vial resides in the Varúsi, and a French merchant of the name of Sauveur, who has been established here for forty years. There is besides an Imperial Vice-Consul, who acts also for Russia, and an agent for the Seven Islands; both natives of those islands. The Greek Varúsi as well as the Turkish town in the castle is built of sun-baked bricks; the Turkish houses are in a state of ruin and desolation, but the fortress itself is in better repair and of a better construction than those of Neókastro and Mothóni. To the west, indeed, there is a hill called Purgo, which is only 200 yards distant from, and nearly on a level with, the ramparts: but it is well seen by a flanking gun on the south, which side of the castle slopes considerably to the south-east. There is a dry ditch, but the only outwork is a wall on the crest of the counterscarp. A plan

of the fortress is given by Coronelli, since whose time little alteration has been made.

The castle-hill is very steep on all sides, and seems to have been the Acropolis of the ancient city, which occupied this site, and of which nothing is now left but some cisterns and remains of walls on the hill of Purgo, and on a low point called Livadhiá, which projects from the eastern side of the castle 400 yards into the sea. It is rocky and impracticable to a landing, except in the finest weather; but there is a little space of sandy beach under the Varúsi, on the north-west side of the castle, which often admits of an easy debarkation. There is another sandy beach, which extends for two miles along the shore on the south-west, but it is much exposed to a surf from the southward. The anchorage of Koróni is so very subject to this inconvenience, that vessels are frequently driven ashore; but as the bottom is in most parts a soft sand, they often escape without much damage.

In good years the export of oil from Koróni amounts to 15,000 barrels; but here, as elsewhere, the alternate crops of oil are generally deficient. There is little doubt that the failure is in great measure to be ascribed to the practice of beating down the fruit with long sticks, which strews the ground with almost as many

fragments of young branches as fruit. Both the practice and its effects were well known to the ancients [a]. The only other commodity exported from Koróni is the silk already mentioned. The grain grown in the district is barely sufficient for its consumption. The kazá contains seventy-five villages, the greater part of which are small, and dispersed among the olive plantations round the town. There is also a fertile valley between this place and Petalídhi, in which there are eight or ten villages, and a river called Kakórema. On the side of Mount *Temathia* stands Longa, one of the largest villages in the district of Koróni, and below it, near the sea on the southern side of the valley, Kastélia, a name which indicates an ancient site, and where, as I am informed, there are still some remains of antiquity, but of what age I cannot learn.

At Petalídhi several persons have described to me remains which seem clearly to be those of a Hellenic town, situated at a small distance from the shore of the harbour. Among them are said to be some fragments of columns; but the anchorage being considered the best on this side of the gulf, the ancient remains are much

[a] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. l. 5. c. 4.—Gespon. l. 9. c. 17.—Plin. H. N. l. 15. c. 3.—Varro, l. 1. c. 55.—Cato de Re Rust. c. 144.

exposed to depredation, and the site is now said to consist of little more than ploughed fields.

A third position in which there are said to be remains of antiquity is Saratjá [a], a village of the district of Koróni, situated on, or near, the coast about midway between Koróni and Cape Gallo.

In comparing the ancient and modern geography of Greece, it is seldom we can venture to reject the testimony of an identity of name, when there is neither proof nor probability of the place having ever been uninhabited. In the instance of Corone, however, it is impossible to refuse conviction to the concurrent testimony of Strabo and Pausanias, or to avoid the conclusion that Petalídhi, and not the modern Koróni, is the site of the ancient city of this name. The remarks of Strabo which bear upon the question are few and incidental; the description of the country by Pausanias is, as usual, much more detailed and methodical. The following extract [b] contains every part of it that in any way relates to topography.

"From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus there is a road of eighty stades in length. The Pamisus runs through the cultivated land with a clear stream, and is navigable to ships as far as ten stades from the sea: sea-fish ascend

[a] Σαρατζά. [b] Pausan. Messen. c. 34.

into it, chiefly in the spring. This occurs also in the Rhone and Mæander, and particularly in the Achelous, where this river enters the sea near the islands Echinades. But the fish which enter the Pamisus are such as are bred in pure water, and not those which delight in muddy water, like that of the aforesaid rivers; the grey mullet for example, which is one of the muddy fishes [a], and delights in turbid rivers. To the right of the Pamisus [b] is the city Corone, situated near the sea [c], under the mountain Temathia: on the road thither, there is a place on the sea side [d] which is considered sacred to Ino, for they say she landed there from the sea, being already considered a goddess, and called Leucothea, instead of Ino. A little farther forward, the river Bias falls into the sea, so named, it is said, from the son of Amythaon. Twenty stades distant from the road is the fountain Plataniston, which flows from a large hollow

[a] οἱ κέφαλοι ἰχθύων ὄντες τῶν πηλαίων. Aristotle and Ælian give the same character of the κέφαλος. Οἱ κέφαλοι νέμονται τὴν ἰλὺν. Arist. Hist. An. l. 8. c. 2. Ὁ κέφαλος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσιν βιούντων ἐστὶ. Ælian. de Nat. An. l. 1. c. 3. The fish is still known by its ancient name, and though it frequents the rivers, it attains the greatest size and fatness in the lagoons of the coasts of Greece, where it constitutes the most profitable part of the fisheries of those shallow maritime lakes. From the roe is made the ὠὰ τάριχα, Romaice, αὐγοτάριχον, Italicé, botargo.

[b] ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Παμίσου.

[c] πρὸς θαλάσσῃ.

[d] ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ.

plane tree, resembling a small cavern within, and supplies Corone with water for drinking. The ancient name of this city was Epeia; but when, by means of the Thebans, the Messenians were restored to Peloponnesus, it is said that Epimelides, who was sent to be the founder, called it Coroneia, because he was from Coroneia in Bœotia; that the Messenians were not in the beginning correct in the name, (calling it Corone instead of Coroneia,) and that their error has been confirmed by time. But there is another story, concerning the nomination of the city, namely that those who were digging the foundations of the wall found a brazen crow [a]. There is a temple in Corone of Diana Pædotrophus, and temples of Bacchus and of Æsculapius, which contain statues of the gods in stone. In the agora there is a brazen statue of Jupiter Soter, and in the Acropolis, in the open air [b], a brazen statue of Minerva holding a crow in her hand. I saw also a monument of Epimelides. Why they call the harbour the port of the Achæans I do not know. Eighty stades beyond Corone stands a temple of Apollo near the sea [c], much honoured by the Messenians, who assert that it is extremely ancient, and that the god,

[a] κορώνη. [b] ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. [c] πρὸς θαλάσσῃ.

who is surnamed Corynthus, cures diseases. There is a wooden statue of Apollo Corynthus, and another in brass of Apollo Argeus, said to have been dedicated by those who sailed in the ship Argo. Colonides borders on Corone. The town [a] stands upon a height at a short distance from the sea [b]. The natives affirm that they are not Messenians, but a colony brought from Attica by Colænus, who, by command of the oracle, followed hither a lark [c], and that in process of time they adopted the Doric dialect and manners.

"The Asinæi in the beginning inhabited on the borders of the Lycoritæ of Mount Parnassus, and were called from their founder Dryopes, which name they brought with them to the Peloponnesus. At first they inhabited Asine near Hermione; being ejected from thence by the Argives, they received a portion of Messenia from the Lacedæmonians. The Asinæi are the only people of the race of the Dryopes who take a pride in the name, and they have evidently made the most venerated of their sanctuaries in memory of those formerly established in Parnassus. Such are the temple of Apollo, and the sanctuary and ancient statue of Dryops, in whose honour they have a yearly ceremony,

[a] πόλισμα.

[b] ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ μικρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

[c] κόρυδος.

saying that he was the son of Apollo. The city, like the former Asine in Argolis, is situated upon the sea-side[a]; there is a road of forty stades to it from Colonides, and another of the same distance[b] from Asine to the place called Acritas, which projects into the sea, and has before it a desert island called Theganusa. Beyond Acritas is the port Phœnicus, and before it the islands Œnussæ."

In this passage all that relates to the Pamisus, the Bias, Cape Acritas, the islands Theganusa and Œnussæ, seem to require no other comment than the map and the itinerary. The positions of Corone, Colonides, and Asine, are the only difficulty. As to the last, indeed, there wants only a confirmation of the existence of Hellenic remains at Saratzá, to prove that place to be the site of Asine, since both Strabo and Pausanias represent Asine to have been the nearest town to Cape Acritas, now called Gallo, and the position of Saratzá, at three geographical miles and a half in direct distance from that promontory, agrees perfectly with the forty stades of road distance which Pausanias indicates between Asine and Acritas. There would then remain only to be assigned the positions of Corone, the Coryntheium, and Colonides. The

[a] ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. [b] τοσαύτη.

first, as I have already observed, notwithstanding the strong evidence of the name Koróni in a different position, appears to have been at Petalídhi; for Strabo and Pausanias concur in placing Corone towards the head of the Messeniac gulf and the mouth of the Pamisus; Strabo, by expressly asserting that the Pamisus joined the sea *near* Corone, in the middle of the gulf[a], Pausanias, by observing that Corone was situated to the right of the Pamisus. No person would think of giving such descriptions of the modern Koróni. Again, Pausanias describes Corone as situated under Mount Temathia[b]. There is no other mountain that will answer to Temathia, than that which is now called Lykódhemo, and the highest summit of which rises from the coast a little to the southward of Petalídhi. It is prolonged southward in a gradually falling ridge till it terminates in Cape *Acritas*. The town of Koróni is not situated under any mountain, but stands on a promontory surrounded by a fertile plain, which is bounded on every side by the lower branches of the ridge already mentioned. The designation of "under Temathia" applies much better, therefore, to Petalídhi than to Koróni.

If *Corone* was at Petalídhi, the modern Ko-

[a] πλησίον τῆς Κορώνης, κατὰ μέσον πως τὸν κόλπον. Strabo, p. 361.

[b] ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει Τημαθίᾳ.

roní probably occupies the site of *Colonides*, its distance from Cape Gallo according with the eighty stades of road distance, which Pausanias has given between Colonides and Cape Acritas. The resemblance of the names, Colonides and Corone, may easily account for the substitution of the one for the other in the barbarous ages, which gave rise to the new nomenclature of Greece. Or it is not impossible that when the fertility of the surrounding plain, or the maritime commerce, or the security, or whatever else may have been the attractions of the modern Koróni, caused the greater part of the population of the western side of the Messeniac gulf to be there collected; either an attachment to the name, which had formerly been that of the principal town, or a large proportion of emigrants from the ancient Corone may have induced the community to substitute the name of Corone for that of Colonides. We have other examples to shew that the modern Greeks have sometimes made a new and different local application of the ancient names of places. In the Moréa, those of Arcadia of Achaia may be cited, and that of Mantineia at the head of the Thuriate gulf. In northern Greece, the name of Ambracia, which has been transferred from its former site to a place on the opposite side of the Gulf of Arta, is an

example still more exactly in coincidence with what I suppose to have occurred in the case of Corone; in all these instances the names have probably been applied to new positions, by colonists from the old sites.

It will be a further consequence of placing *Corone* at Petalídhi, that the temple of Apollo Corynthus stood near Kastélia, the distance of this place from Petalídhi answering sufficiently to the eighty stades of Pausanias. His words, πρὸς θαλάσσῃ, would seem to place the Corynthеium nearer to the shore than Kastélia; the remains of antiquity therefore, which seem to have given rise to the latter name, may possibly be of Christian times. Pausanias has not indicated the distance between the Corynthеium and Colonides, but he appears to assign the Corynthеium to the Coronæa, and to place to the southward of that temple the boundary line between the districts of Corone and Colonides; and this accords exactly with the natural formation of the country, if the shore below Kastélia be assumed for the situation of the Corynthеium, for not far to the southward of this position a branch of Mount *Temathia*, advancing to the sea, separates the valleys of Kastélia and Koróni, and forms a very natural frontier to two adjacent districts.

May 2.—A fatal dispute has just occurred be-

tween two Turks; one a janissary of the Septinsular Consul, the other a distributor of corn from the Bey's magazine. The Consul wished to transport some corn privately to Máni, where the distress has become still greater than when I was there, but where, according to the Messenians, money can generally be found when the occasion requires it. The janissary applied to the distributor, as if for himself: the distributor would not give the proportion he desired, on which the janissary abused the keeper of the magazine and beat his Greek servant. The affair was made up for the moment, but the relatives on both sides having interfered, a challenge ensued, and the two parties met yesterday evening at the castle-gate, when they came to blows with yatagháns. The guardian of the Bey's corn, finding the adverse knives likely to prevail, drew a pistol from his girdle and shot the janissary, and before the affray ceased, the janissary's father also was mortally wounded, as well as one of the opposite party. The brother of the janissary immediately mounted his horse and rode to Petalídhi, with the intention of murdering the distributor's brother, but one of Mustafá Bey's nephews anticipated him by sending advice to the man at Petalídhi, who by that means escaped. On the return of

the slain janissary's brother from Petalídhi this morning, he was forbidden to land, and sent by the Bey to conceal himself in Máni.

The Greeks give melancholy accounts of the atrocities of these janissaries of Koróni, who are gradually reducing to desolation the beautiful region of olives, vineyards, and gardens, which surround the town. Before the year 1770, there were four French mercantile houses here, who exported grain, oil, and silk, from this and the surrounding districts.

I sail over to Kalamáta this afternoon in four hours:—a brisk imbát with intervals of calm. The classical traveller cannot be many days in Greece, without remarking numerous instances in which the present people retain both the customs of the earliest ages, and the modes of expressing them in language. But although every part of the history of Greece may occasionally be illustrated by existing customs[a], it is observable that they more frequently coincide with the simplicity of archaic manners, than with those of the more civilized ages of

[a] The Greek insurrection has furnished the most remarkable proofs of the identity of this people: scarcely a transaction has occurred, to which one does not find some parallel in Grecian history, and generally in that of the ruder districts or remoter ages of Greece.

Greece,—a very natural effect of the recurrence of the nation to a sort of semi-barbarism, in which, though they cannot attain to the virtues nourished by liberty and independence, they have at least acquired some of those derived from adversity and the absence of luxury, and these have naturally been accompanied by the ruder and simpler manners of their distant ancestors. The wars of the Suliótes and other mountaineers, furnish many points of resemblance with those of the Messenians in the seventh and eighth centuries before the Christian æra. The navigation of a people so essentially maritime as the Greeks, naturally offers frequent instances of the preservation of ancient customs; but though a large proportion, both of words and things used in the *res nautica*, has always been the same, we do not derive much assistance in understanding the naval affairs of the meridian times of the history of Greece from its modern navigation, which, with the exception of the European improvements recently introduced in some of the islands, more closely resembles that of the most distant ages. The εὐρεῖα σχεδίη, or broad ship, built by Ulysses in the island of Calypso, seems to have been just such a boat as that in which I am now embarked, except that his had only one mast, and the latter has two. The fascines which en-

velop its gunwale, and so well protect it from the waves or from the danger of a sudden heel, are exactly described by Homer[a]. But they have lost their ancient name ῥῖπες[b], at least in this part of Greece, and are called καλαμωτάρια. They are now generally made of vine branches.

I find a great difference between the temperature of Koróni and that of Kalamáta, which is one of the hottest situations in the Moréa, and I observe that when the imbát is fresh at Koróni, and towards the mouth of the gulf, it often does not reach the inner part:—in the middle of summer, the maestrale blows with great force in the afternoon, but coming across the heated mountains and plains, lying between the coast of Navaríno and Kalamáta, it is far less refreshing than the maestrale of Mothóni and the western coast.

My host, Kyr Elías, tells me, that one of the family of the Medici of Florence was formerly wrecked at Vítylo, and lived there for many years: that the descendants of this person assumed the name of Ἰατριάνοι, by a translation

[a] Φράξε δέ μιν ῥίπεσσι διάμπαρες οἰσυίνῃσι,
Κύματος εἶλαρ ἔμεν·——Odyss. E'. v. 256.

Thus translated by Pope:—

With yielding osiers fenced, to break the force
Of surging waves.

Where the English poet, not having any word for ῥῖπες, the thing itself being unknown among us, changed it for an unmeaning epithet.

of the word Medici, and that the family is still one of the principal in Vítylo, and commands 250 muskets. My informant is related to the family, though he does not bear the name. This is the reverse of the story of the Bonapartes of Corsica from the Καλομέροι of Vítylo, and perhaps has no better foundation.

CHAPTER XI.

MESSENIA. ARCADIA.

Site of the seven cities of MESSENIA named in the Iliad, Book IX, verse 149.—Ancient topography of MESSENIA, with reference to its history prior to the Spartan conquest. —From Kalamáta.—Skala.—Bridge of Mavrozúmeno.— Tragói.—Pávlitza.—PHIGALEIA.

As Messenia, during three centuries, was erased from the map of Greece, if I may be allowed to use a modern phrase, which would be more appropriate if we could be assured that there ever existed a map of Greece until the present time, it is necessary, in endeavouring to trace the ancient geography of this province, to advert to the particular period of Messenian history to which it is to be applied, and to distinguish between the times before the Laconian conquest and those which followed the restoration of Messenian independence. This consideration may justify me in entering more historically into the subject of the topography of this, than of any other province of the Peloponnesus.

Of the seven cities which Agamemnon in the Iliad offers to Achilles, to induce him to return

into the field [a], Pheræ and Cardamyle alone preserved their Homeric names in the time of the Roman empire. Of the others the situation was open to dispute. Strabo [b] says, that Ire was supposed by some persons to have stood between Andania and Megalopolis, by others to have been at Messola, in the gulf between Taygetum and Messenia. The latter description of the position of Ire applies exactly to the bay of Kitriés, in the middle of which stood Abia, and it is in harmony therefore with the local tradition reported by Pausanias, namely, that Abia stood on the site of Ire, and received its new name from the nurse of Hercules [c]. Enope, according to some opinions, was the same place as the Pelana of the time of Strabo, concerning the position of which there is nothing to guide us. Other persons placed Enope near Cardamyle, while others again, with whom Pausanias agreed, supposed it to have been the same place as Gerenia.

Thuria will answer either to Æpeia or to Antheia; to the former, by its lofty situation,

[a] Ἑπτὰ δέ οἱ δῶσω εὖ ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα,
Καρδαμύλην, Ἐνόπην τε, καὶ Ἱερὴν ποιήεσσαν,
Φηράς τε ζαθέας, ἠδ' Ἄνθειαν ἐυμμελίαο,
Καλήν τ' Αἴπειαν, καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν·
Πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἁλὸς νέαται Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος.
Iliad. I. v. 149.

[b] Strabo, p. 360.

[c] Pausan. Messen. c. 30.

to the latter, by the conformity of its meadows on the banks of the Aris with the epithet βαθυλείμων, which Homer applies to Antheia. The Thuriatæ were attached to the latter hypothesis [a], the chief objection to which seems to to be, that there was no other lofty situation corresponding to the name Æpeia. Pausanias, however, does not hesitate in placing this Homeric site at Corone. Others, according to Strabo, considered Corone to have been the Homeric Pedasus, and Asine to have been Antheia. Strabo remarks that these cities must have been under the domination of Menelaus before the Trojan war; otherwise, he asks, how could Agamemnon have offered to give away places which neither belonged to himself nor his brother. It may be observed, however, that as these towns did not contribute to the Trojan armament, the Atreidæ could hardly have had much influence over them. Nor were they under the authority of Nestor; for the Catalogue shews that when the Trojan expedition was assembled, his dominions were confined to the northern and western parts of Messenia, neither including Methone to the south, nor Œchalia to the eastward; although there seems no doubt, from the words νέαται Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος,

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 31.

applied by the poet to the seven cities, that they had all once formed a part of the kingdom of the Neleidæ, and probably for a long space of time. The fact therefore seems to have been, that as these cities, at the time of the Trojan expedition, neither obeyed Nestor nor Menelaus, nor had thought proper to follow the fortunes of the Atridæ, by contributing to the Trojan armament, Agamemnon had the less scruple in offering them to Achilles, whose power, added to that of Menelaus, they could not have any hopes of resisting, should they be so disposed.

Strabo and Pausanias differ with regard to the Homeric Œchalia; the former considered it to have been the same place as Andania [a], the latter to have occupied the site of the Carnasium of his time [b]. The opinion of Pausanias having been founded upon an actual inspection of the places, added to a diligent study of all the monuments and ancient poetical documents [c] which threw light on the early history of Messenia, is much more worthy of attention than that of Strabo, who, not having had an accurate knowledge of the country, may easily have confounded two places which were only a mile asunder. Andania, according to Pausanias, was

[a] Strabo, pp. 339. 350, 360. 448.

[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 2, 33.

[c] ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἠοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγγενεαλόγησαν. Pausan. Messen. c. 2.

the first Messenian capital: it was founded by Polycaon, the son of Lelex, and husband of Messene, and it continued to be the residence of five generations of his successors, as well as that of Perieres, son of Æolus, the founder of a new dynasty. This sovereign having rewarded the services of Melaneus, a man renowned for his skill in archery, and hence called the son of Apollo, with a grant of land near Andania, Melaneus there founded a town to which he gave the name of his wife, Œchalia. Eurytus, whose memory was long venerated by the Messenians, succeeded his father, Melaneus, in the possession of this part of Messenia; he seems to be the same person mentioned by Homer, in alluding to the death of Thamyris at Dorium [a], though the poet designates that person as the son of Œchaleus.

Meantime, Aphareus, son of Perieres, who had bestowed Pylus upon Neleus, a fugitive to Messenia from Iolcus, founded, for his own family, Arene, which, as we have already seen, was probably the Samicum of the time of the Roman empire, or the modern Khaiáffa. On the death of the two sons of Aphareus, Nestor became the sovereign of Messenia [b], and Pylus

[a] Καὶ Πτελεὸν, καὶ Ἕλος, καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
Ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς,
Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα, παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος.
Il. B. v. 594.

[b] Pausan. Messen. c. 3.

consequently succeeded to Arene, as the royal residence.

We are told by Strabo, upon the authority of Ephorus [a], that one of the first acts of the Heracleidæ, upon entering into possession of the conquered provinces of the Peloponnesus, was to form a new subdivision of each of them; and that while Eurysthenes and Procles divided Laconia into six parts, Cresphontes partitioned Messenia into five, the chief places of which appear from Strabo and from Stephanus, who probably followed Strabo, to have been named Stenyclerus, Pylus, Rhium, Messola, and Hyameia. Cresphontes made Stenyclerus the royal residence, and built a palace there for the use of himself and his successors [b]. The establishment of the other four cities was connected with a benevolent design entertained by Cresphontes, of amalgamating his Doric colonists with the Messenians, and of granting to the conquered people the same privileges enjoyed by his own followers; having probably been induced to this policy, which differed from that of the Heracleidæ occupants of Laconia, by the circumstance that none of the Messenians had migrated from their country on this occasion, as the Achaians had done from Laconia. Finding,

[a] Strabo, p. 361. [b] Id. Ibid.—Pausan. Messen. c. 3.

however, that his Dorians were adverse to the project, he collected them all in Stenyclerus, and declared it the only city in Messenia[a]. But these concessions appear to have been insufficient, for we are told by Pausanias that Cresphontes and all his sons, except Æpytus, lost their lives by a conspiracy of the great proprietors, who were offended at his shewing too much favour to the people. Æpytus was then very young, and was living with his father-in-law Cypselus, king of Arcadia. He was afterwards restored to his kingdom by the aid of the Arcadians and some chiefs of Doric race, after which the Æpytidæ continued to reign in Stenyclerus to the sixth generation from Æpytus, when the first Messenian war with Sparta began. Each of the Æpytidæ is noticed by Pausanias for the introduction of some new religious worship into Messenia, with the exception of Dotadas, son of Isthmius, who, more intent, apparently, upon political than religious affairs, added Mothone to the other naval arsenals or harbours[b] of Messenia.

Of the five divisions of Messenia just enumerated, Stenyclerus probably contained all the upper *Messenian* plain above the ridge of Skala, together with the surrounding hills. The city

[a] Strabo, p. 361.—Pausan. Messen. c. 3. [b] ἐπίνεια.

itself we may suppose to have occupied some position in the plain, between the site of *Œchalia* and Skala. Messola still preserved its name in the time of Strabo[a], and was situated, as I have already remarked, near the coast lying between Cape Kúrtissa and Kalamáta. Rhium also was near the interior part of the Messeniac gulf, for thus undoubtedly we must interpret the Θουριάτης κόλπος, or Thuriate gulf, in which Strabo says that Rhium was situated; the outer part of the same great gulf having, according to the geographer, been called Messeniac, or Asinæan[b]. He adds, that Rhium was ἀπεναντίον Ταινάρου, other MSS. have Τενέδου and Ταινέδου,—perhaps Ταϋγέτου is the right word; for as to Tænarum, no place on the western coast, except the vicinity of Cape Acritas, not even the modern Koróni, is in sight from Tænarum. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems probable that Messola and Rhium shared between them all the Messenian plain below the ridge of Skala, from the borders of Laconia to Mount Temathia, the Pamisus perhaps forming the boundary between them. Pylus, it may be supposed, occupied all the south-western extremity of Messenia, and Hyameia all the north-

[a] Μεσσηνιακοῦ κόλπου· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀσιναῖον, ἀπὸ Ἀσίνης πολίχνης πρώτης ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ. Strabo, p. 360.

[b] Id. p. 359.

western part, as far north along the western coast as Messenia then extended. Its limits, undoubtedly, were not then by any means so extensive in that direction, as the Pylian kingdom under the Neleidæ had been, when the Alpheius washed their territory on either bank, for the Eleians were now in possession of Olympia, and a Doric dynasty reigned over the Eleia and Pisatis. After the first Messenian war, at the same time that the Lacedæmonians gave Asine to the Asinæi of Argolis, Hyameia was bestowed upon the posterity of Androcles, one of the Æpytidæ who had been slain in a contest with his brother Antiochus, and whose family had fled to Sparta [a]. The Androclidæ, notwithstanding, joined the Messenians in the second war, and two of them were slain in the principal action of that war, called the Battle at the Great Dike [b].

For the history of the Messenian wars with Sparta, which form one of the most interesting chapters in Grecian history, we are indebted almost exclusively to Pausanias. Although compiled by an author who lived eight centuries after the events, from the materials of other writers who lived four centuries after them, the narrative has a greater semblance of authen-

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 14. [b] Id. Messen. c. 17.

ticity than many parts of the history of Greece much more recent. From the prose composition of Myron of Priene, Pausanias derived the history of the first war; from the poem of Rhianus[a] all the remaining transactions, and the better taste of the time of his authorities seems to have diffused itself over his text. The only coetaneous author whose works he could have consulted, but from which he could have derived only a few leading facts, was Tyrtæus, an Athenian poet and schoolmaster[b], who resided at Sparta during the second war, and who was said to have been present at the battle of the Great Dike.

The Lacedæmonians had felt the full effects of the institutions of Lycurgus, in forming a military people formidable to all their neighbours, when the affray at Limnæ, differently related by the two parties, but certainly involving the death of Teleclus, king of Sparta, furnished a pretext, although not until after the interval of another generation, for the first Messenian war, which began in the second year of the 9th Olympiad, B.C. 743. An expedition was prepared at Sparta with the greatest secrecy; Ampheia was taken by surprise, and the people massacred in their beds, or at the

[a] Rhianus was a native of Bene, in Crete.

[b] διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων.

altars of the gods. This fortress stood upon a lofty hill, abounding in springs, near the confines of Laconia. It appears to have been not far from the route leading from the northern part of the Peloponnesus into Messenia; for when the Messenians, at a later period of the war, had retired into Ithome, and, finding themselves much distressed, sent Tisis to consult the oracle at Delphi, he was attacked on his return by a part of the Lacedæmonian garrison of Ampheia, and narrowly escaped being taken or slain[a]. As the great route into Messenia on this side must, from the nature of the country, have always led through the pass now called the Dervéni of Mount Makryplái, there is a great probability that Ampheia was the Hellenic ruin, now called the Castle of Xuriá[b], which is situated on that mountain, two or three miles to the southward of the pass.

The three years which followed the taking of Ampheia were employed by the king of Messenia, Euphaes, son of Antiochus, in exercising his forces, and in laying waste the parts of Laconia towards Mount Taygetum and the sea-coast; while the Lacedæmonians made on their part some fruitless attempts on the Messenian towns. In the fourth year, Euphaes, having drawn out his army on the frontier, was met by

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 9. [b] Ξουριᾶς τὸ Κάστρον.

the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they had advice of the movement from their garrison at Ampheia. The king of Messenia, however, had no intention to hazard a general action, for he brought with him a great number of servants, with materials for intrenching, and drew up his hoplitæ behind a deep ravine, which prevented any conflict between the heavy-armed; and after a day passed in an equal combat between the cavalry and light-armed of either party, he intrenched his position, both in the flanks and rear. The Lacedæmonians, not thinking it prudent to attack under such circumstances, returned home. As the parties on this occasion seem to have advanced respectively from Stenyclerus and Ampheia, it seems evident that the χάραδρα, or torrent, at which they encountered, was the same as the river Charadrus, which flowed by Œchalia [a], which joins the *Balyra* or modern Vasilikó, near the bridge of Mavrozúmeno, not far from the foot of Mount *Ithome*, and which lay exactly between the sites of Stenyclerus and Ampheia.

In the ensuing year the Lacedæmonians commanded by both their kings, and, assisted by the Asinæi, the Dryopes, and a body of mercenary Cretan archers, entered Messenia, and a battle ensued, which, notwithstanding the su-

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 33.

periority of the Lacedæmonians both in the number and quality of their force, ended with such a doubtful result, that neither party erected a trophy. It was almost entirely a combat of hoplitæ, and consequently the more destructive. The light-armed were inactive, and of cavalry there were very few engaged either in this or any of the other general actions of the Messenian wars; the Peloponnesians, as Pausanias remarks, having as yet made little progress in the equestrian branch of the art of war. The scene of action appears to have been in the same part of the frontier as on the former occasion.

Although this event was in the highest degree glorious to the Messenians, it led to nothing but disaster: each year produced a diminution in their warlike resources of every kind, the country from which they drew their subsistence was reduced to a smaller compass, their ranks were thinned, their slaves deserted; and these difficulties having been greatly increased by the effects of the last battle, they found themselves at length under the necessity of abandoning all the inland towns, and of retiring into Ithome. Eight years afterwards, in the thirteenth year of the war, the enemy led an army against Ithome, but they were repulsed in a battle in which Euphaes was mortally wounded. In the eighteenth year another action took place at

the foot of Mount Ithome, wherein the allies on both sides were engaged, namely, the Corinthians for the Lacedæmonians, and the Argives, Arcadians, and Sicyonii for the Messenians. The Messenians were completely victorious, but it was a victory which led almost as surely to their ruin, as a defeat could have done. So hopeless did affairs appear to Aristodemus the king, that he soon afterwards slew himself in despair; and at length the Messenian commanders, in the twentieth year of the war, being closely blockaded in Ithome, and almost famished, abandoned the place [a], which was immediately destroyed by the victorious enemy. The people then either dispersed themselves through the territories of their allies, or submitted to the hard condition of carrying half the yearly produce of their soil to Sparta. But this was a burthen too heavy to be long borne. Forty years after the capture and destruction of Ithome, the second Messenian war, or, as Polybius calls it, the Aristomeneian war [b], began by a revolt chiefly set on foot by the young men of Andania, and headed by Aristomenes, whose wonderful efforts of ingenuity and activity in annoying or eluding his adversaries

[a] V. et Tyrtæum ap. Strabon. p. 279.

[b] Polyb. l. 4. c. 33.

were the principal theme of the poem of Rhianus, of which he was the hero, like Achilles in the Iliad[a]. One of the first exploits of Aristomenes, and which was intended to impress the Spartans with an early terror of his name, was to penetrate into the temple of Minerva Chalcicœcus, in the Acropolis of Sparta, and to suspend there a shield, inscribed as a dedication to the goddess from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians. His subsequent expeditions, while the Messenians remained in possession of Stenyclerus and Andania, were to Pharis, in the plain of Sparta, to Caryæ, not far from the borders of the Tegeatis, and to Ægila, on the shore of the Laconic Gulf, at all which places suddenly appearing, he collected spoil and made prisoners, whom he afterwards released for a ransom. In his retreat from Pharis he was wounded, at Ægila he was taken, but escaped the same night.

At the opening of the Aristomeneian war, the other neighbours of Laconia, alarmed at the growing power of Sparta, came forward to the assistance of Messenia, and formed a powerful alliance against her enemy. In the first action of the war, however, there were no auxiliaries present on either side; it was fought, in the first

[a] Ῥιανῷ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, οὐδὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὁμήρῳ. Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Pausan. Messen. c. 6.

year after the revolt, at Deræ in Messenia, a place of which the situation is quite uncertain.

In the following year there was a general action in the plain of Stenyclerus, at a place called Caprusema, or "the monument of the boar." The Eleians were here united with the Messenians, as well as the Arcadians, Argives, and Sicyonii. The Lacedæmonians and Corinthians were completely defeated. The third and last battle of the second Messenian war occurred in the third year, at a place called the great dike[a]. The only allies of Messenia present were the Arcadians. Andania being at that time the chief town and strong hold of the Messenians, it is probable that the *taphros* was not far from that place. In consequence of the treachery of Aristocrates, king of Arcadia, who had been bribed by the Lacedæmonians, and who drew off his troops in the middle of the action, the Messenians were entirely defeated, and compelled in consequence to abandon Andania, and to retreat to Mount Eira. Here they were blockaded for eleven years, during which Aristomenes, at the head of a chosen band of 300, frequently repeated his adventurous expeditions into Laconia and Messenia, both which provinces he now considered equally hostile. On one occasion he penetrated to Amyclæ, and

[a] ἡ μεγάλη τάφρος. Polyb. l. 4. c. 33.—Pausan. Messen. c. 17.

on another surprised and destroyed a body of Corinthian auxiliaries on their march. Twice he was made prisoner, and escaped; in one instance, from some Cretan archers, who surprised him during a truce, the second time out of the Ceadas, or prison, of Sparta itself. In short, so completely did Aristomenes succeed in appropriating the produce of the enemy's country to the support of Eira, that at length a dearth of corn, and a consequent insurrection took place in Sparta. The treachery of the king of Arcadia, of which Aristomenes was yet ignorant, still continued, however, to counteract his exertions, and at length, at the end of eleven years, Eira was surprised by the enemy while Aristomenes was suffering under the effects of a wound. He nevertheless fought his way through the besiegers, and retired to Mount Lycæum, where he was met by a body of Arcadians coming to his assistance. As soon as the Arcadians detected the conduct of Aristocrates, they stoned him to death, destroyed all his family, and abolished the regal government. But the mischief which he had caused was irreparable.

The data furnished by Pausanias[a] for discovering the position of Eira, are the following. It was on, or below, a mountain of the same name, and so near the Neda, that the women of

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 18. et seq.

Eira, who dwelt without the walls, were in the habit of drawing water from the river. After the defeat at the great foss, the Delphic oracle predicted to Aristomenes and his prophet Theoclus, that Messene (i. e. Eira) would fall when a goat should drink of the Neda. It became an object, therefore, with the Messenians in Eira to prevent their goats from drinking out of the Neda. But τράγος, the word used by the oracle, signified, in the Messenian dialect, a wild fig-tree as well as a goat; and Theoclus having found a wild fig-tree below Eira, with the extremities of its branches in the river, considered the oracle as accomplished. This he communicated to Aristomenes, who soon afterwards fought his way, as just stated, through the besiegers, and retired to Mount Lycæum.

It seems also that Eira was at no great distance from the sea, and consequently from the mouth of the Neda, for the Messenians in Eira were in the habit of receiving supplies from Cephallenian merchants, and they maintained a communication with their friends in Pylus and Methone, two Messenian fortresses which still held out against the enemy. As the Neda, moreover, had its origin in Mount Lycæum, flowing first, as Pausanias describes it [a], through Arcadia, and then winding towards Messenia, it could only

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 20.

have been in the lower part of its course that it touched or traversed the Messenian boundary. It would seem, therefore, that Mount Eira was that ridge of hills lying between the *Neda* and the valley of Arkadhía (*Cyparissia*), which ends towards the sea in a projecting hill, where the Aulon of Pausanias was situated, not far southward of the mouth of the Neda, and that the fortress of Eira must have been in some defensible point of the mountain adjacent to the left bank of the Neda, in the lower part of its course. Here, driven out of the rest of their country, the Messenians occupied a position distant from the Laconic frontiers, closely bordering upon the friendly provinces of Elis and Arcadia, open to a retreat to Mount Lycæum, and easily communicating with the sea, and by that means with Pylus and Methone. With the inhabitants of these two places a large proportion of the Messenians united, after the abandonment of Eira, and emigrated to Rhegium [a]. Two centuries after the fall of Eira, and thirty-four years

[a] Pausanias supposed that these Messenians occupied Zancle, and gave it the name of Messana; but Herodotus and Thucydides ascribe the change of name to a period 160 years later, when Zancle was occupied by the Messenians of Rhegium. That the latter is the correct history, has been proved from the coins of Messana, by Mr. Millingen.—Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol I. part 2. p. 93.

before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Helotes, a name then comprising the Messenians, took advantage of the confusion into which Sparta was thrown by an earthquake. Ithome was seized by the revolters, and so unskilled were the Lacedæmonians in sieges, that it was held by the Messenians against every effort of their adversaries for ten years, at the end of which time they were allowed to retire with their families, and were settled by the Athenians in Naupactus. They were very useful auxiliaries to their benefactors during the greater part of the Peloponnesian war, on which account, as well as from ancient hatred, they were expelled from Naupactus when the Lacedæmonians attained the ascendancy in Greece in consequence of the battle of Ægospotami. Some then went to join their brethren in Sicily, others to found a colony in Libya.

Thucydides[a], in relating the Helote insurrection, which has sometimes been called the third Messenian war, speaks of the Thuriatæ and Ætheenses, as Messenian people in the neighbourhood of Ithome. The latter of these two are not mentioned by any other author. I should conjecture that they occupied the valleys watered by the branches of the *Bias* to the south-westward of the modern Andrussa, which

[a] Thucyd. l. I. c. 101.

may possibly stand on the site of Ætheum; this district being at about the same distance from Ithome as Thuria is in the opposite direction, and none of the other places mentioned in history being near this region, of which the natural advantages must have always made it an important member of the Messenian state. It was not until three centuries after the capture of Eira that the independence of Messenia was restored, in consequence of the defeat of the Lacedæmonians by the Bœotians at Leuctra, when the new city of Messene was founded. From this time the Messenians again took their station among the independent states of Greece, until the whole country fell under the power of Rome.

The Lacedæmonians, during the long period in which they kept Messenia in a state of vassalage, had, according to a common practice of conquerors, destroyed all the fortresses, except such as were necessary for a few garrisons of their own; and hence it happens that, with the exception of Andania, where are some vestiges rather than ruins of the massive works which once defended that site, there are not to be found, in Messenia, any of those remains of fortresses of a remote age, such as Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, and many other parts of Greece still preserve in abundance, nor any Hellenic

walls of an earlier date than the foundation of Messene. The same observation will apply to Laconia, the inhabitants of which were, in general, kept by the Spartans in nearly the same state of vassalage as the Messenians themselves. We know, moreover, that it was in the spirit of the Spartan system, in its best times, to despise fortresses and to rely entirely for the defence of the country on discipline and valour in the field.

Epaminondas wisely perceived that there was no effectual mode of curbing the Spartans, but by giving strength and union to the neighbouring states. He collected together, therefore, the scattered and half decayed communities of Arcadia, as well as the fugitives and oppressed residents of Messenia, and founded for each province a city, the independence of which he endeavoured to secure by the strength of its fortifications; and hence the pains bestowed upon those defences of Messene, which Pausanias compares to the walls of Babylon and Rhodes.

May 5.—Desirous of examining the pass of Mount *Taygetum*, which formed the ordinary communication between *Laconia* and *Messenia*, I intended to cross from Kalamáta to Mistrá, by the mountain road through Kútzova. There was some difficulty on account of the robbers, who only two months ago descended into the

plain of Kalamáta and committed some depredations, but Kyr Elias had undertaken to send for mules and an escort from one of the mountain villages, with which the thieves are on friendly terms. It happened unfortunately, however, that only three days ago Captain George Kolokotróni himself, with a large body of his followers, made his appearance in the hollow at the back of the gardens of the Kalývia of Kalamáta, and carried away five or six persons. The Albanians, who have lately been sent here to the number of forty by the Pashá, sallied out and came to action with the thieves near the monastery of St. Elias, and wounded one or two: they made off however with their prizes, and are now at Kútzova. My janissary, Amús, proposes to conduct me over the mountain, by the assistance of his friend Captain Andonáki, of Longástra, who, he thinks, would send one or two of his sons hither as a security; but the primates of Kalamáta having lately complained to the Pashá of the insufficiency of the force sent to oppose the robbers, they are afraid, if I should cross in safety the very mountain in which the robbers are said to reside, that the Pashá will look upon their representation as false. There is little doubt that the thieves themselves would undertake to conduct us in safety for a stipulated sum, and

might be trusted; but my host, the Hodjá-bashi, is terribly alarmed at this proposal, and says he shall certainly lose his head if it succeeds. I am obliged, therefore, to alter the plan of my tour.

For some time past, the robbers have occupied the mountains extending from the summits of *Taygetum* to those of *Lycæum;* they were on the Makrypláι, as I am informed, on the day I crossed it[a], which certainly agrees with what the Dervendjí told me. They afterwards retired to Bardhúnia, where they were well received by Amús Agá, and now, it seems, have resumed their former haunts around Ghiorghítza. Amús, since I saw him, has threatened to burn Mistrá, unless the inhabitants pay him twenty purses. He came not long ago to Tripolitzá, and having propitiated the Pashá by some handsome presents, was well received by him. Hassán, the new Vóivoda of Mistrá, has written a spirited remonstrance to the Pashá upon the encouragement he gives to the Bardhúniotes. Since I left Máni, Seremét Bey, the Turkish Admiral, has exacted from the Vityliótes five piastres a house, and obliged them to give hostages for their future good behaviour. They had neglected to obey his mandates for their share of the tribute. Similar securities have been received by the Admiral from Tzanét Bey, whose son,

[a] March 5th.

George, is now a hostage, together with a grandson of Tzanét, a son of Peter the Bey-Zaade. Captain Khristéa has not only been obliged to give up his son, but a famous piece of ordnance with which he used to batter his enemy's towers. Seremét is now repairing, in Port Vítylo, some damage which his corvette suffered in the gale of the 23d; he was obliged to cut away the masts, which did not save her from being driven ashore.

The Sunday's fair, this morning, is not so well attended as usual, because, being the feast of St. George, all those who can afford it make a point of killing their best lambs, and passing the day in feasting and idleness. At Constantinople, it is contrary to order to kill lambs before St. George's day, and hence the Moreítes boast of keeping Easter in a superior style to the Polítes, or Constantinopolitans.

I set out from Kalamáta at 12.5; at 12.53, arrive at the spot where the road to Kutzukumáni and Andrússa turns off to the left: Nisí remains two or three miles on the left of that road, in the lowest and most swampy part of the plain, where the land is intersected with many canals. It is said to be unhealthy in the summer, and there is no good drinking water in that season. At 1.20 we cross the torrent which divides the villages of Kamári and Frit-

zála. At 1.53 pass close to the Paleá Lutra. At 2.10 arrive at a bridge over the Pídhima, which is in the direct road to Skála, and above the place where I forded it on the 22d April. Here, sending on the baggage to Skála, I turn to the right under the mountain, and arrive at Pídhima at 2.23. This little village is close to the sources of the *Aris* on the south; it contains about ten houses, just at the foot of the steep rocky mountain, where are some remains of a castle, of the middle ages, on the summit of the cliffs. The sources are very copious, issuing in fifteen or twenty rills from under the mountain; they immediately turn a mill, and a hundred yards below form a large stream; the mill belongs to the Mukatá of the Emlátika. There are the ruins of three or four other mills.

Leaving these springs at 2.40, I proceed over an uncultivated part of the plain, which is covered with wild lavender, bearing a most luxuriant quantity of blossom; and soon fall into the Londári road. At 3.22 arrive at the Dervéni-house, and ruined chapel of Aio Floro. The sources here are as plentiful as those at Pídhimá, but not more so; there are some fine plane trees at the very spot where the waters issue from under the mountain. A little beyond the springs there is a small pond; this gives

rise to a stream which joins the river collected from the other sources, and not far beyond it there are several other ponds of the same kind, the issue of springs from the mountain. A large marsh is formed by these waters at no great distance in the plain, among which there are probably other subterraneous sources. The river formed from them runs s.s.w., and joins the Mavrozúmeno two miles below, in the middle of the plain. All these ponds and springs are undoubtedly the true sources of the *Pamisus*.

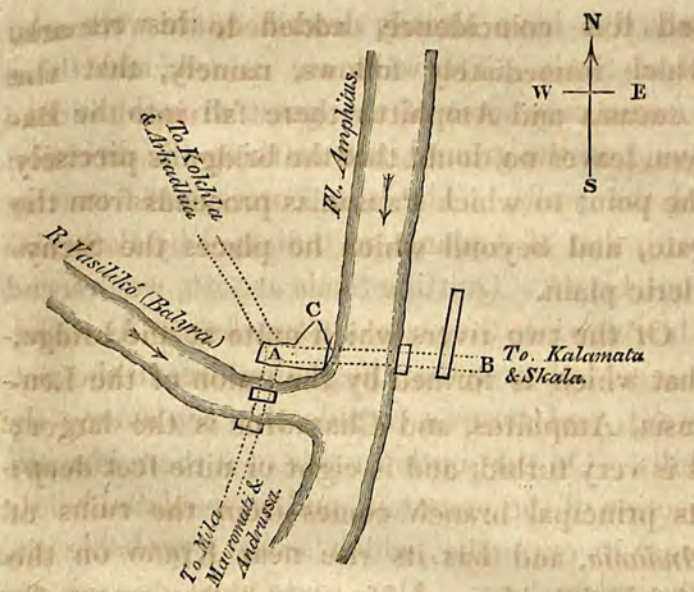
We soon begin to ascend the ridge of low hills, which divides the plain of the *Pamisus* from that of *Stenyclerus*. This ridge crosses from Mount Makryplái directly towards *Ithome*, and is separated from the foot of that mountain only by the narrow vale of the Mavrozúmeno, which river skirts also the foot of Mount *Evan*. Skála is situated on the summit of this low transverse ridge on the side towards Makryplái. It contains about fifty houses, and has a few mulberry grounds about it: I arrive there at 4.5, and proceed to the house of Kyr Pulo, for whom I brought a letter from Kyr Elias, of Kalamáta. Pulo has a pyrgo, and another building, with two small rooms near it, which he gives up to me. Skála belongs to the Andrussa Kázasi, but is one of the Emlátika.

May 6.—The ruins called Ellinikó-Kastro,

which I have already described, are well seen from Skála. The walls are ruined, and there remain only some of the great wrought blocks lying on the ground, and marking the direction of the walls. The site corresponds exactly with that of Andania, as indicated by Pausanias and Livy [a]. Quitting Skála at 5.40, we descend the ridge into the plain of *Stenyclerus*. As we advance, I observe that the plain retires to the eastward, and forms a considerable *bay* among the hills. On the southern side of it there is a projection of the mountain, and an insulated height near its extremity, which seems a probable site for Stenyclerus. Our route now crosses the plain in the direction of Mount *Ithome:* at 6.25 the little village of Ziza is on a height to the left; at 6.43 wé arrive at the bridge called Mavrozúmeno [b]. The annexed sketch will shew the plan of this singular work, which was built by the ancients for the purpose of crossing the *Balyra* and *Amphitus* just above their junction, and not far below the union of the latter with the *Leucasia*. The same point forms the meeting of the three roads from Kokhla, Mavromáti, and Skála, or, in other words, from Arkadhía, Andrússa, and Kalamáta, and anciently from *Cyparissiæ*, *Messene*, and *Thuria*.

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 33.—Liv. l. 36. c. 31.

[b] Μαυροζούμενο—μαῦρο ζοῦμι means "black broth."



The dotted line in the plan expresses the modern part of the bridge: the strong lines the ancient work. But of the latter, there are only foundations, with the exception of the spur C, which is entire. The upper parts of the piers and the three paved causeways are modern. The causeway A B is twenty-four paces in length. The ancient masonry is of the same regular kind as that of Messene, and is probably of the same date.

The distance of this bridge from the Megalopolitan gate of Messene, agrees very well with the thirty stades, which Pausanias[a] assigns as the interval between that gate and the Balyra;

[a] Pausan. Messen. c. 33.

and this coincidence, added to his remark, which immediately follows, namely, that the Leucasia and Amphitus there fall into the Balyra, leaves no doubt that the bridge is precisely the point to which Pausanias proceeds from the gate, and beyond which he places the Stenycleric plain.

Of the two rivers which unite at the bridge, that which is formed by the union of the Leucasia, Amphitus, and Charadrus is the larger; it is very turbid, and is eight or nine feet deep; its principal branch comes from the ruins of *Andania*, and has its rise near Krano on the Makryplái ridge. I have no better reason for applying to it the name of *Amphitus*, and that of *Leucasia* to the branch which is formed from the united torrents of Agrilovúni and Dhiavolítza, than the order of names as they occur in Pausanias. That the Charadrus was to the southward of the river of Andania, I think can hardly be doubted, as well from the nature of the torrent, as because Pausanias, after having proceeded from the Megalopolitan gate of Messene eastward, across the Stenycleric plain, describes Andania as being to the left of Carnasium, which was on the bank of the Charadrus. The Balyra above the junction of the Amphitus, is now called Vasilikó; below the bridge the name of Mavrozúmeno prevails.

The Vasilikó is bright and rapid, and more considerable than the other in summer, though now only five or six feet deep. It is composed of several tributaries from the hills in the forest of Kokhla; of these the ancient names of the two principal streams are tolerably well identified by the order of the names in Pausanias, who, going from Andania to Cyparissia, first mentions the Electra, and then the Cœus. After the junction of the *Balyra* with the *Pamisus*, the united river is now usually called the Mega, or Great River [a], or the river of Nisí.

While I stop at the bridge, our baggage proceeds, and halts five minutes afterwards at Alitúri, on a height not far from the foot of Mount *Ithome*. This part of the plain consists chiefly of pasture, in which I see some herds of buffaloes. I breakfast on milk and fresh butter at a mandhra, and then proceed to Konstantínus, where we arrive at 8.20, having lost thirty-five minutes in the two halts. This is a village of 100 families, hid among some rocky heights projecting from the falls of Mount Tetrázi. After having crossed these heights, and descended into a small plain, called the Bogház [b], which branches from the upper plain of Messene to the north-west, we leave, at 8.48, the village

[a] τὸ μέγα ποτάμι. [b] gorge.

of Agrilovúni, containing about thirty houses, three quarters of a mile to the right, and that of Dhiavolítza two miles in the same direction, both of them at the foot of Mount Tetrázi. At 9 pass a fine fountain. A little torrent shaded with planes runs along the middle of the Bogház: it comes from a ravine in the mountain to the left of our route, and after joining another stream from Dhiavolítza, unites with the Djamítiko, or river of Ellinikókastro, near the bridge of Mavrozúmeno. The Bogház narrows as we advance. Towards the end are great numbers of the agnus castus, here called Λίλια. The road now leaves the small village of Gharantzá one mile on the right, situated behind a remarkable rock, on the summit of which stands a ruined castle of Byzantine times.

At 10 we make our midway halt at a fine source of water on the ascent of the mountain. My saddle-bags furnish nothing but bread, but the spring supplies some good water-cresses. Proceeding at 10.50, we arrive at 11.40 on the summit of this pass of the Lycæan ridge, where stands Dhímandra[a]. This little village has been ruined by the robbers or their opponents, and the inhabitants are now lodged

[a] Δήμαιτρα.

in wicker huts covered with a black stuff made of goat's hair. On the right there is a high summit, between us and Tetrázi, on the left is seen the valley and forest [a] of Kokhla, the plain of Sulimá, and the village of Klisúra.

The plain of Sulimá, I have little doubt, is the district of the Homeric Dorium, as well from Pausanias, in a passage which I have already cited, as from Strabo, who informs us, that, according to some opinions, Dorium stood on the site of a place called in his time Olurus, which was situated in the Aulon of Messenia [b]; whence it would seem that Strabo understood by Aulon the whole valley of Kokhla, of which indeed the word Aulon, in its ordinary acceptation, was exactly descriptive. Xenophon, also, in describing King Agis as having marched from Sparta through Aulon of Messenia and the Lepreatis [c], appears to refer to Aulon in the same sense as Strabo. Pausanias, however, as we have already seen, describes Aulon as a particular spot in the Klidhí, or maritime pass between the rivers Búzi and Arkadhía [d]. The difference of time will fully justify the supposition of a change in the acceptation of the word,

[a] λύγγος.
[b] Strabo, p. 350.
[c] B. C. 403. — Xenoph. Hellen. l. 3. c. 2.
[d] Pausan. Messen. c. 36.— See Chapter II.

especially as both situations were in the natural communication between the Messenia and the Eleia. Homer mentions three other towns in this part of the country, besides Dorium. Of these Elos seems to be the same as the Elæum of Rhianus [a]; possibly it stood above the site of Dorium, towards the Neda, for exactly in that position we find that Pausanias places a Mount Elaium, thirty stades to the southward of Phigaleia. The two remaining Homeric towns, Amphigeneia and Pteleum, were, according to Strabo, the former at Hypsoeis in the Macistia, where in his time stood a temple of Latona, the other at an uninhabited woody place called Pteleasimum [b].

The rain begins to fall at Dhímandra, and our descent from thence through the forest which covers the northern side of the mountain is very slow; the road being extremely rugged, and our poor horses, which had returned to Kalamáta from a journey to Londári only the day before yesterday, almost incapable of proceeding. At 12.25 we pass a little village called Djirdje [c] on the side of the mountain. There are on one side of it a few corn-fields around it, and a small stream running down into the Búzi *(Neda)*.

[a] Πάρ' τε τρηχὺν Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο.—Rhian. ap. Pausan. Messen. c. 1.

[b] Strabo, pp. 349, 350.

[c] Τζίρτζαι.

At 2 we arrive at a brow of the mountain overlooking that river. On the right the deep ravine of the river is seen for three miles. Half way up, the stream splits into two branches, the southernmost proceeding exactly from the foot of Mount Tetrázi, the other from a part of the same great ridge between Tetrázi and the Karyátiko, or hill of Karyés: above the fork of the two branches rises a height which has the appearance of an ancient site, and would be well suited to the strong-hold of a people resisting to extremity against superior forces: but there is no indication in history of any ancient place in this position. Eira was in Messenia, whereas this place lying between Mount Lycæum and Phigaleia, both of which were in Arcadia, must have belonged to that province. It appears, indeed, from Pausanias, that the Phigalenses possessed both banks of the river. Eira, therefore, must have been below the Phigaleian district, under the side of the mountain on which now stands Sidherókastro and Mármaro. One can hardly expect to find any remains of a place which seems to have been only an occasional occupation at a very remote period of history.

The mountains bordering on the *Neda* and its branches are steep and lofty on both sides. To the right of the southern branch of the river, on the mountain side, is Marína, to the

left Kakalétri, with a considerable tract of cultivated land around it, immediately at the foot of Mount Tetrázi. Leaving above us the small village of Mavromáti, we descend, at 2.20, to the *Neda*, which we find difficult to pass on account of the steepness of the banks, the rapidity of the stream, and the great number of large round stones in the bed. On the right bank I take shelter for a quarter of an hour in the tent of a shepherd of Marína, who has brought his flocks here to feed on a little grassy spot on the river side. The town-Greeks of the Moréa give the name of Vlakhi to all shepherds who in the winter leave their mountain abodes in search of pasture and of warmer situations; but it is a misnomer, for no real Vlakhi ever bring their flocks into the peninsula, nor is the Wallachian language ever heard here. The word, however, has very naturally been brought into use by the great number of Vlakhiote shepherds in northern Greece.

The man with whom we take shelter has his wife and children, and his sons' wives and all their children, to the number of twelve or fifteen, in the tent. Milk and misíthra is their only food: "we have milk in plenty," they tell me, "but no bread." Such is the life of a modern Arcadian shepherd, who has almost reverted to the balanephagous state of his pri-

mitive ancestors [a]. The children, however, all look healthy, and are handsome, having large black eyes and regular features, with very dark complexions.

On leaving the Mandhra we almost immediately cross a large rapid branch of the *Neda*, flowing from the northward through a rocky ravine shaded with fine planes;—then ascend obliquely the mountain overhanging the right bank of this stream, and having mounted slowly to the same height as the opposite village of Mavromáti, turn to the north along the side of the mountain to the little village Tragóï, or Dhragóï [b], romantically situated on the side of a mountain, which is separated by a deep glen to the westward from an opposite hill, on the face of which is another hamlet of the same size, called Puikádhes [c]. Between the two villages several plentiful streams issue from the mountain, and rush down its steep sides into the ravine: around the springs the mountain is shaded with planes. On arriving at Tragóï, at 3.50, I find some difficulty in procuring a lodging, the Turk who owns the pyrgo having gone out to visit his flocks in the neighbourhood of the *Columns*; on his return we obtain admittance, when the

[a] Ἀρκάδες Ἀζᾶνες βαλανηφάγοι, οἳ Φιγαλείαν Νάσσασθ', &c.—Orac. Pyth. ap. Pausan. Arcad. c. 42.

[b] Τραγώγη, or Δραγώγη.

[c] Πουγικάδες.

reason or pretence given for the delay first experienced is, that the Janissary of an English traveller had recently ill-treated one of the Greek inhabitants, and consumed his provision without paying for it. The villagers of Tragóï and Puikádhes speak Albanian in common with Greek; and I am informed that in several of the neighbouring villages the inhabitants do the same. It appears, therefore, that there has been an Albanian colony in this part of *Arcadia*, though none of Vlakhiotes. It dates probably from before the Turkish conquest.

May 7.—At 5.50, this morning, I set out for Pávlitza, the weather still showery. Descending into the ravine in the direction of Puikádhes, I arrive in five minutes at a church on the bank of the stream, shaded by fine plane trees; a little on one side of it is a waterfall over a bold perpendicular rock, at the foot of which are some planes just under the height of Tragóï. The air and temperature are delightful, and the scenery as Arcadian as can well be imagined. Having crossed the river by a bridge, we pass, five minutes beyond it, the foot of the mountain which I have mentioned as supplying the torrent of Tragóï with a great part of its water, by many small streams rushing down its face; we then follow the side of the same mountain for some distance, above the right bank of

the stream, and then in a similar position above the right bank of the *Neda*, until, at 6.50, we arrive at Pávlitza[a], a small village divided into two parts, called the upper and lower street[b]. The former of these stands a little within the walls of a large city, which appears clearly from Pausanias to have been Phigaleia, otherwise written Phigalia, or Phialia. The Kato Ruga, or lower division of Pávlitza, is situated in a little valley between the ancient walls and the river.

Pausanias thus describes Phigalia and its vicinity[c]: "Phigalia is situated upon a lofty and precipitous hill, and the greater part of the walls are built upon the rocks, but on the ascent of the hill there is an even and level space[d]. Here is a temple of Minerva Soteira, and a statue of stone in an upright posture; from this temple there are sacred processions. In the Gymnasium there is a statue of Hermes covered with a cloak, but terminating below in a square form. Here also is a temple of Bacchus, surnamed by the natives Acratophorus[e]; the lower parts of the statue are hidden by leaves of bay and ivy, those parts which are seen are resplendent

[a] Παύλιτζα, or Πάβλιτζα.
[b] ἡ ἄνω καὶ ἡ κάτω ῥούγα.
[c] Pausan. Arcad. c. 39, 40, 41, 42.
[d] ἀνελθόντι δὲ, ὁμαλὴς ἐστιν ὁ λόφος ἤδη καὶ ἐπίπεδος.
[e] The bearer of pure wine.

with cinnabar[a], a substance which the Iberians find together with gold. The agora of Phigalia contains a statue in stone of Arrachion, a native pancratiast, who was twice victorious at Olympia, and having lost his life in a third victory in the 54th Olympiad, was crowned after his death. The figure, which is ancient, represents him in the archaic manner, with the feet near one another and the hands close to the sides[b]. An epigram, which was on the statue, has been obliterated by time. There is a common sepulchre[c] in the agora, of the chosen men of Oresthasium, who recovered Phigalia from the Lacedæmonians[d]. The fountains of the Neda are in the mountain Cerausium, which is a part of Lycæum. In the place where it flows very near[e] the city of the Phigalenses, their children offer to it their hair (as a sacrifice). Of all the rivers we know, the Neda, next to the Mæandrus, is the most winding; at the sea it is navigable by small vessels. Twelve stades above Phigalia there are some warm baths, not far from which the Lymax falls

[a] κινναβάρι.

[b] *i. e.* like an Egyptian statue.

[c] πολυάνδριον.

[d] It was in the year B.C. 659, that the Lacedæmonians having besieged Phigaleia, the Phigalenses retired from their city by treaty.—V. Pausan. Arcad. c. 39. The exact date of their return I cannot discover.

[e] ἐγγύτατα.

into the Neda. Here is a temple of Eurynome, of ancient sanctity, which is difficult to arrive at on account of its rugged situation. Around it are many cypresses growing close together. The temple is opened only once a year, when there are sacrifices both public and private. It did not happen to me to be at Phigalia at that season, but I was informed by the Phigalenses, that the statue is of wood bound together by golden chains, and that it resembles a woman as far as the hips, and a fish in the lower part. Phigalia is surrounded with mountains; on the left is that called Cotylium, on the right, in front of the city [a], is Mount Elaium. Cotylium is distant about forty stades from the city; it contains the place [b] called Bassæ, and the temple of Apollo Epicurius. The roof, as well as the rest of the building, is of stone, and it excels all the temples in the Peloponnesus, except that of Tegea, in the beauty of the stone and the harmony of the construction [c]. The epithet Epicurius was given to Apollo on account of the relief afforded by him [d] in a pestilence, which occurred in the Peloponnesian war, when he received the appellation of Alexicacus from the Athenians on the same occa-

[a] προβεβλημένον τῆς πόλεως.
[b] χωρίον.
[c] μετά γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέᾳ προτιμῶτο οὗτος ἂν τοῦ λίθου τε ἕς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας εἵνεκα.
[d] ἐπικουρήσαντι.

sion. That the two epithets have the same origin is proved by their similar meaning, as well as by the fact, that Ictinus, the architect of this Phigalian temple [a], lived in the time of Pericles, and constructed the Parthenon for the Athenians. I have already observed that the statue of Apollo (formerly belonging to this temple) is (now) in the agora of the Megalopolitæ." [b] Pausanias then informs us that Cotylum, the place from which Mount Cotylium took its name, was above the temple of Epicurius, and contained a temple of Venus without a roof, but in which there was a statue of the goddess. In the other mountain, Elaium, at a distance of about thirty stades from Phigalia, there was a source of cold water, and a cavern, sacred to Ceres the Black [c], situated in a grove of oaks [d]. The cavern of Elaium was said to have once contained a brazen statue of the goddess, by Onatas of Ægina, made in imitation of a more ancient figure in wood, and representing the goddess with the head of a horse. Pausanias adds, that it was chiefly for the sake of this Ceres [e] that he visited Phigalia,

[a] ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλίᾳ ναοῦ.

[b] It was a brazen Colossus twelve feet high. — Pausan. Arcad. c. 30.

[c] Μελαίνη.

[d] δρυῶν.

[e] ταύτης τῆς Δήμητρος ἕνεκα. —The statue was supposed to have reference to the μῦθος of Neptune and Ceres, of which Pausanias has spoken

and that he sacrificed to her according to the local rites, by offering on an altar, which was before the cavern, grapes and other cultivated fruits, together with honey-combs and uncleaned wool. The statue was said to have been destroyed three or four generations before the visit of Pausanias, by the fall of a part of the cavern. There were some doubts, however, among the Phigalenses themselves, whether it had ever existed; and it seems more probable that both this and the form of the lower part of the statue of Eurynome, were stories with which the priests amused the credulous traveller, for such monstrous representations were not at all in the taste of Grecian art.

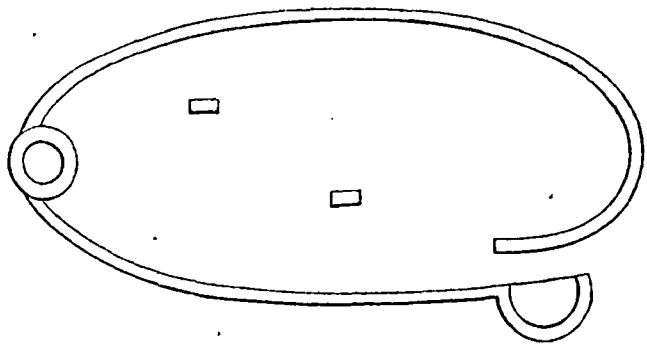
The walls of Phigaleia furnish one of the most curious specimens of Greek military architecture in existence, and I believe one of the most ancient; for though the climate of such an elevated situation may account in great measure for their corroded state, and may

more particularly in the chapter of the Arcadics, relating to the Telphusia. (c. 25). The epithet "Black" related to a black garment which Ceres wore after that affair, when she concealed herself in the cavern of Mount Elaium, until, mankind being about to perish by famine, Pan at length discovered her in the form represented in the statue. Jupiter then sent the Fates to her, who appeased her anger. No wonder that such a lover of mythology as Pausanias should have gone out of his way to visit the scene of such a remarkable fable.

have given them a greater appearance of antiquity than others of the same age, the uncommon plan and construction of the greater part of the fortification, together with the kind of masonry of which it is formed, are certain evidences of a very remote antiquity. In three fourths of the circumference, the walls follow the crest of a lofty rocky height, which rises at the back of Pávlitza on the northern side; the remaining fourth crosses the slope between the two divisions of the modern village, leaving a space of about 500 yards between the town wall and the *Neda*. Here the ground is more level and less rocky than the greater part of that within the walls, where the only level space of any magnitude is towards the lower part of the ancient inclosure, where a modern road passes through the Ano Ruga in a direction parallel to the river. The Ano Ruga probably occupies the site of the agora. Above it the hill is very steep and rocky, with the exception of a small level about midway to the summit, where the temple of Minerva Soteira may have stood.

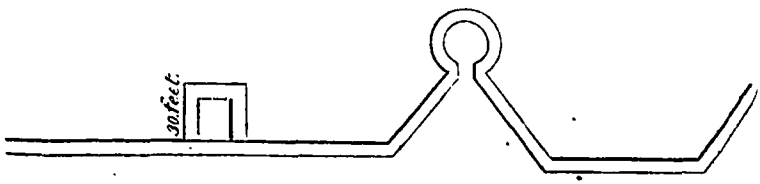
On the summit, just within the ancient walls, are the remains of a detached citadel eighty yards in length, and of the annexed singular form. The round tower at the end measures eighteen feet in the interior diameter. There

are the remains of two small churches in this castle; one dedicated to St. Elias, the other to the Panaghía.

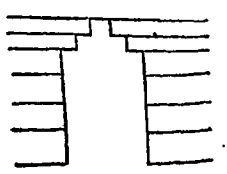


The town walls are of the usual thickness, faced with masonry of the second order, and filled in the middle with rubble. On the western and south-western sides, the wall does not exist above the foundations. On the northern and eastern sides, two thirds of the original height, in most parts, remain. In the two former directions I could only discover the ruins of one tower, and do not believe that there were ever many more; this may, perhaps, be accounted for by the greater evenness of the ground on that side, which would not permit of the approach of an enemy without his being seen from the wall. It indicates however a very early state of military architecture, and when compared with the works of the beginning of the fourth century B. C. at Messene, shews a great difference of date in the two fortifications. On the northern

side the wall is flanked with quadrangular towers, and in the midst of them it forms in one place a salient angle terminating in a round tower.

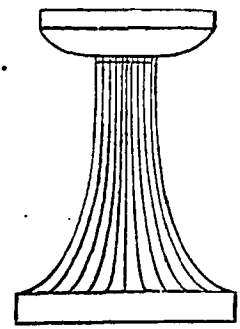


On the north-east the towers are all round, but I conceive that both these and the square towers were added at a later age to the original inclosure, which probably had few, or perhaps not any, towers; I could not find any traces of the gates. The two principal were probably in the line of the modern road through upper Pávlitza, and it may be supposed there was a third in the middle of the southern side between Ano and Kato Ruga. In the north-eastern side there is a postern of this form. On either side of it the masonry, instead of being of the regular kind here represented, is a perfect specimen of the second order. The circumference of the city was upwards of two miles.



One of the churches at lower Pávlitza appears to have been a small temple, repaired and added to, for within it are several columns one foot

two inches in diameter, apparently in their original places. We can hardly suppose, however, that this was one of the temples mentioned by Pausanias, unless the Gymnasium was without the walls, in which case it may have been the temple of Bacchus Acratophorus. In the same church I found a pedestal of the annexed form with a Doric capital and flutings; the flutings



being only in half the circumference, which seems to shew that the pedestal stood in a niche. The church contains another pedestal of the same form, of the Ionic order. Similar monuments, but generally fluted in the whole circumference, are often found in the churches of Greece, where they may have been deposited as in a place of safety, or more frequently perhaps, as in the present instance, because the ancient temples to which they belonged were converted into churches on the establishment of Christianity. The use of these pedestals, I

conceive to have been, that of supporting large basins for holding lustral or sacrificial water, and many of them may have become baptismal fonts after the conversion of Greece. That the ancient basins are never found entire is easily accounted for, their form being so much more liable to fracture than that of the pedestal, which has the solidity of the column increased by its shorter dimensions; it is probable also that the basin was often of metal, and therefore tempting to the plunderer [a]. The pedestals thus deprived of their lustral vases now often serve to support the holy table [b] or altar of the church.

The small valley between the lower wall of the city and the river, in which lower Pávlitza stands, is covered with corn-fields, vineyards, and olive trees. From the opposite bank of the river rises a steep mountain, probably a part of the ancient Elaium; its sides are shaded with large evergreen oaks, both the prinus or holley-leaved, and the ilex or olive-leaved, species, the former called *πρινάρια*, or *πουρνάρια*, the latter *ἀρειαὶς* [c]. The summit of the mountain is

[a] These pedestals, with their vases, seem to have given the original idea of those elegant tazze which were so common among the Romans, and have become equally so among the moderns.

[b] *ἅγια τράπεζα.*

[c] *Ἀρειαὶς.* It is not impossible that *Ἀρειὰ* may have been the ancient name of the tree, or perhaps *Ἀρεία*, for the

clothed with the deciduous oak[a]; which agrees with its state in the time of Pausanias, who says that the cavern of Ceres was situated in a wood of those trees (δρυῶν). There is a fine underwood on the lower part of the hill, consisting of the usual variety of shrubs.

The citadel of Phigaleia commands a fine prospect of Arcadian scenery, though not very extensive, as the surrounding hills are much higher. The most interesting points in view are Mount *Ithome* and the temple at *Bassæ;* the summits of *Lycæum* close the view to the eastward; to the westward are seen Mount Vunúka, Strovítzi and its Paleókastro, (*Lepreum,*) the mouth of the *Neda,* and Mount Paraskeví above Arcadhía. At the back the mountain falls into a cultivated valley, in which is a village called Gárdhitza[b] less than a mile distant.

The road already mentioned as passing through Pávlitza leads from Tragóï and the adjacent villages to Smarlína, Sarína, and other villages along the *Neda;* from thence to Búzi

moderns often convert a barytone into an oxytone. At least I do not find this kind of oak, the quercus ilex of botanists, described by name in any ancient Greek author. The φῆγος was the quercus esculus, and derived the ancient, as well as the Linnæan, appellation from its edible acorn.

[a] δένδρα.

[b] Κάρδιτζα, Γκάρδιτζα.

and the mouth of the river. Smarlína is distant from Pávlitza three quarters of an hour, and Sarína three hours, at which there is said to be a Paleókastro not Hellenic. Along the side of the steep mountain, on the opposite side of the river, passes the road to Plataniá, a little below which, at Sostomiú, another ruin is described to me, built with small stones and mortar: hereabouts must have been the famous *Eira*. On my return to Tragóï, I pass directly over the mountain which separates the vale of Gárdhitza from that of Tragóï, and pass through Puikádhes. This place, like the former, has a Turk's pyrgo, and eight or ten Greek families; both the villages are in the vilayéti of Fanári, and indeed are considered as quarters [a] of the same village. We fall into the morning's road a little beyond Puikádhes, and arrive at Tragóï in an hour from Pávlitza.

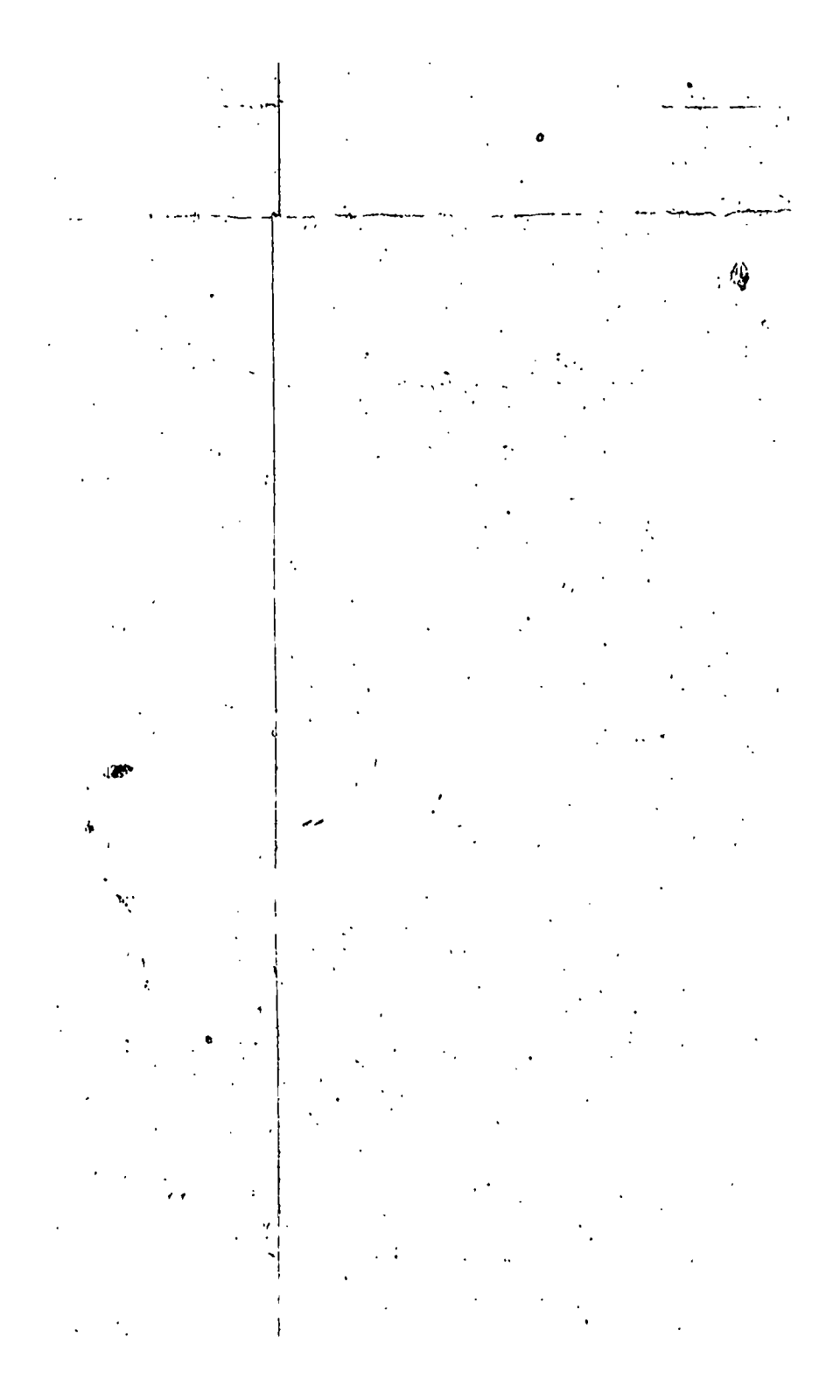
[a] μαχαλάδες.

END OF VOL. I.

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

PLAN of OLYMPIA.

N.B. This Plan has been reduced from W.T.S. Stanhope's Topography of Olympia. The names only are an alteration.



THE MOREA,
PELOPONNESUS,
ZAKYNTHO
ZANTE
GULF OF ARKADHIA
KOLOKYTHIA
EXPLANATION.

ZAKYNTHO
ZANTE
GULF OF ARKADHIA
KOLOKYTHIA
THE MOREA.
Anciently
PELOPONNESUS,
By W. M. Leake.

Topographical Sketch
of the Site of
SPARTA
with the conjectural position
of the Five Tribes
and some of the principal places
The ancient names are distinguished from the modern when in capitals by hollow letters as PITANE, when in small characters by a line underneath as Dromus.
The highest hills on the Site of Sparta are the Acropolis, Agora and Issorium; below these there is a second fall by a steep bank towards the Eurotas and Cnacion.
Termination of a Branch of Mt Taygetum
Mount Menelaium
R. Iri (Eurotas)
Remains of a Bridge
River Iri or Vasilipotamo
Low marshy ground
Acropolis
Ancient Aqueduct
Torrent Dalgea
Church
Agora
Theatre
Hellenic ruins
Remains of Temple
Rough remains
Tombs of the Agidæ
Issorium
Ancient vestiges
Tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias
Asclepieium
Remains of Roman baths & other buildings
from Mistra
Ruins of a Hellenic building 58 feet by 77
Street of Sciaps
Street Aphenais
Colona
Hellenic remains
Ancient vestiges
Site of the temple of Juno Argeia
Psykhiko
Dromus
Platanistas
Kalyvia
Phœbæum
Eurotas Fl.
Cultivated Lands
Cnacion
Trypiotiko anciently
Ancient bridge
Heptagonia
Kalagonia
Tombs of the Eurypontidæ
Dictynneium
Probable Direction of the Walls of Sparta
Plain of Sparta
Scale of English Feet
1000 500 0 1000 2000 3000

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

Page 115. For "Pallantium was supported" read "Pallantium was chiefly supported."

Page 187. It is here remarked, that Nicephoras Gregoras, in naming Sparta, means Mistrá. Chalcocondylas, nearly two centuries later, uses the word Sparta with the same meaning, as clearly appears from his observation, that "Sparta was situated under Mount Taygetum, at a distance of eighteen stades from Palæopolis and the Eurotas."—So that it seems to have been then customary to call the site of Sparta Palæopolis, and Mistrá, new Sparta. Nevertheless, Myzithrá was a name in use as early as the former period, as we perceive from Pachymer.

Page 280. The remark, that the Pyrrhicus of Pausanias and the Pyrrhi Charax of Polybius, are the same place which Livy calls Pyrrhi Castra, ought to be erased. The reader will find the correction in Vol. II. p. 525, where it is evident that Pyrrhi Castra was a position about eight miles to the north-eastward of Sparta, probably on the banks of the river of Arákhova, or north-eastern branch of the *Œnus*.

Page 330. In reference to the orthography of the name of Œtylus in the time of the Roman empire, I find that the Βίτυλα of Ptolemy is confirmed by a monument, erected in honour of the Emperor Gordian, by the πόλις τῶν Βειτυλέων. The inscription was copied at Vítylo by Fourmont.—Boeck. Corp. Inscr. Græc. Vol. I. p. 649. There was scarcely any distinction at that time between I and EI.

Page 332, 361. As the question of the site of Pharæ is connected with that of Abia, it may be right to confirm the position of the latter at Paleá Mandínia, by two inscriptions, which were copied at Megáli Mandínia by Fourmont, and which make mention of the Ἀβιᾶται and their city.—Boeck. Corp. Inscr. Gr. Vol. I. p. 688.

Page 336, Note [b]. For "godfather" read "godson."

Page 440, Note [a]. For "Italicé botargo" read "Italicé bottarica, Anglicé botargo."

Page 484. For "B. C. 403" read "B. C. 400."

ADDITIONAL NOTE

TO

CHAPTER VI.

In order to complete, as far as possible, the commentary on the ancient geography of the south-eastern branch of Laconia, contained in the Sixth Chapter, I shall here subjoin, as belonging to my travels in the Moréa, an extract from my journal of a tour by sea from Corfú through the Ionian and Ægæan islands to Mount Athos, during which I had an opportunity of seeing a portion of the Bœatice. As I shall have occasion to refer frequently to Pausanias, I shall begin by extracting his remarks on this district.

"The promontory Onugnathus" he says[a], "was 200 stades distant from Asopus. There[b] was a temple of Minerva, without roof or statue, said to have been built by Agamemnon; and in the same place the tomb of Cinadus, pilot of the vessel of Menelaus. Beyond the promontory was the bay called the Bœatic; near the further end of which (πρὸς τῷ πέρατι) was the city Bœæ, founded by Bœus, one of the Heracleidæ, who here assembled the inhabitants of three old towns, called Etias, Aphrodisias[c], and Side. It was said that the first two were founded by Æneias, on his way to Italy; that Etias was the name of his daughter: and that Side was so called, from the daughter of Danaus. The Bœatæ worshipped a myrtle which they called Diana Soteira, because a hare, which they took for their guide, as to the place where the new city should

[a] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

[b] ἐνταῦθα.

[c] By Thucydides (l. 4. c. 56.) Aphrodisia, and in the Laconic dialect Aphroditia. V. Stephan. in voce.

be built, disappeared under this tree. In the Agora, there was a temple of Apollo, and in other parts of the town [a] temples of Æsculapius, of Sarapis, and of Isis. The ruins of * * * [b] were not more than seven stades from Bœæ,—to the left of the road leading thither, there was a Mercury in marble; and in the ruins of the town a temple of Æsculapius and Hygieia, which enjoyed some celebrity. The island Cythera lay opposite to Bœæ. The promontory Platanistus, which was the nearest point of the island, was forty stades distant from the promontory Onugnathus. In sailing from Bœæ to Cape Malea, there was a lake, named Nymbœum, an upright statue of Neptune, and a cave very near the sea, in which there was a source of water: here were some inhabitants, but not many [c]. Having doubled Cape Malea, and proceeded 100 stades, there was a sanctuary of Apollo on the sea-side, within the Bœatice, called Epidelium."

Strabo [d] describes Onugnathus as a low chersonese, and Ptolemy [e] in like manner, as a promontory (ἄκρα). From Thucydides [f] it appears that there was a fortress in this district, called Cotyrta, near Aphrodisia. The Athenians, when ravaging the coasts of Laconia, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, had an action with the Lacedæmonian garrisons of Cotyrta and Aphrodisia; and, having gained such an advantage as justified them in setting up a trophy, they then embarked, and sailed to Cythera, and from thence to Epidaurus Limera and Thyrea.

[a] καὶ ἱερῶθι Ἀσκληπίου, &c.

[b] The words in the old editions are Ἀσκληπίου καὶ Σαράπιδός τι καὶ Ἴσιδος ἱερίσια ἀπίχει μὲν Βοιῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἑπτά· ἰόντι δὲ, &c.—Where the name of the place which was seven stades from Bœæ, being obviously deficient, later commentators filled up the hiatus with Σίδης, because it resembles Ἴσιδος, such resemblances having been often a cause of omission by copiers, who ignorantly supposed them to be erroneous repetitions. It is by no means certain, therefore, that the word was Σίδης.

[c] Περιοικοῦσι πολλοὶ in all the MSS., but which ought certainly to be οὐ πολλοὶ, as every one will agree who sees the place.

[d] p. 363.

[e] l. 3. c. 16.

[f] l. 4. c. 56.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY.

Oct. 4, 1806. At noon we sail from the harbour of Furnus, near Milopótamo, on the western coast of the island of Tzerígo; beat up the coast, to the northward, with a Greco-Tramontana, which has continued ever since the 27th ultimo. The sailors assert that it is Maestrale on the western coast. In the evening we enter the strait between Elafonísi and Cape Mudári, of Tzerígo, and pass the port of Elafonísi, which is an open bay, on the southern side of that island. Advance along the coast of the Moréa all night, with a gentle breeze from the north, which, towards morning, comes more easterly, and, as we turn Cape Maléa, blows strong in squalls, with a great sea, shewing that the Euroclydon still continues. We bear up, and pass close under the shore.

Oct. 5. Cape Maléa, or Maliá, as vulgarly pronounced, rises steep from the sea at the point, and for some distance to the westward; the ridge then retreats to the north, leaving, for a mile and a half, a more gradual ascent from the shore to the summit; another bluff then advances, more rocky than Maliá, and having at its foot a low cape, which extends westward two miles and a half, to the entrance of the Bay of Vátika. This low cape is more southerly than Maléa, as I had already observed last year, from the monastery of Porto Kaio: a little westward of the eastern extremity of this low land (low only comparatively), there is a little creek under a chapel of St. Elias, where the galeotta of my old acquaintance and host, Hassan Bey, of Monemvasía, is snugly ensconced, in a most admirable situation for catching any thieves that may pass through the strait. He fails not to bring us to. After a recognition, and an exchange of civilities, I proceed: entering the Bay of Vátika, we have the wind so strong against us, that it takes us till 11 A. M. to come to anchor near a tower,

under the north-western corner of the bay, near the Strait which separates Elafonísi from the main land.

I land, more for the purpose of shooting quails, which are now in great numbers on the coast, than with any hope of finding antiquities in this part of the bay. Towards the western end of the strait of Elafonísi, however, I find, at about 500 yards from the shore, some traces of Hellenic foundations, and several quarries of considerable extent in the rocks, at the foot of some low cliffs, which here terminate the height. In the plain below, half way between the cliffs and the sea shore, there are other excavations of the same kind, some of which form regular quadrangles, with perpendicular sides, very accurately hewn. They resemble some quarries which I remember to have seen in 1802, near a small creek, in the rocks of the coast of Messenia, opposite to the island of Prote. The convenience of situation for the embarkation of the stone, was probably the chief motive for quarrying in these places. On the summit of the cliff, a little beyond the highest of the excavations just mentioned, at a point where the cliff is quite perpendicular, and all around formed into caverns, I find the ruin of an ancient pyramid. It is now only a heap of large rectangular masses, with some few of the interior stones in their places; round it, on three sides, a ditch has been cut in the rock, about twenty feet broad, four feet deep in the deepest parts, and forming a square on the outside, of twenty-four yards. The fourth side of the pyramid, standing on the edge of the cliff, had no ditch. It is very possible that this monument may be the tomb of Cinadus, the pilot of Menelaus, and that the Hellenic vestiges which I first observed, are those of the Athenæum of Agamemnon, which was already a ruin in the time of Pausanias.

If it should be objected that Pausanias describes these monuments as situated at Onugnathus, which not only extends three or four miles beyond the position which I have de-

scribed, but is divided from it by an arm of the sea, we must recollect, that although now an island, it was a promontory in the time of the Roman Empire, as Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pausanias, all testify; and that a similar change has occurred at no great distance, in the promontory Minoa, which is now the island of Monemvasía: that the word χερσόννησος, applied by Strabo to Onugnathus, clearly shews that it comprehended the whole of what is now the island of Elafonísi, and that these considerations make a great difference in the application of the words of Pausanias, as it then becomes more probable that he should have meant the nearest part or isthmus of the peninsula, than its extremity.

The strait between Elafonísi and the main is three or four hundred yards over, and so shallow that none but the smallest boats can pass. The name Elafonísi has been translated into Isola dei Cervi by the Italians. The island is cultivated in some parts, particularly in a plain which crosses the middle of the island, and separates the mountain at the northern end from the two hilly capes to the south, which inclose the bay at that extremity. It is only with reference to the high land of Vátika and Cape Maléa, that Strabo's description of a *low* chersonese can have been properly applied to Onugnathus. There are flocks of sheep and goats on the island, but no habitation; both the fields and the flocks belong to the people of Vátika. The eastern end of the strait or western point of the Bay of Vátika, is a low point of rock covered with sand. Here, near a ruined tower, are several ancient sepulchres hewn in the rock, and nearly filled with sand. A little farther inland there is a salt lake, lying between a range of sand hills bordering the western shore of the Bay of Vátika, and the rocky ground upon which I found the ruins. This lake is about two miles long, it is now in most parts dry, and has left the ground covered with salt. Farther along the shore of the bay towards Vátika, there is a plentiful source of fresh water.

In the afternoon we leave our anchorage, and soon reach

the bottom of the bay, where several torrents from the mountains join the sea; in one of the torrent beds there is a large well and a garden called Kyparíssia, belonging to a brother of Hassan Bey, who governs Vátika, and owns a great part of the plain, which extends two miles northward from the beach to the foot of the mountain, near the summit of which the village of Vátika is situated. It seems that the inhabitants of Bœæ, when they abandoned the maritime situation, did not think themselves safe, in this most piratical corner of Greece, at a small distance from the sea. But although Bœæ was then deserted and demolished, the whole of the great promontory or district of Bœæ continued probably to be known by the name of Βοιατικὴ, or, in Doric, Βοιατικὰ, and the bay by that of the Βοιατικὸς κόλπος, as Strabo calls it; and these names, by a change of which the accent is the most considerable part, became that of the modern village and district Βάτικα. The mountain on which the village stands is a continuation of that which ends so abruptly in Cape Maléa, and it is a southern prolongation, without any interruption, of the eastern range of Laconia.

On a low rocky height on the eastern side of the garden, I find the foundations of a Hellenic wall built of quadrangular stones, but traceable only for fifty or sixty yards. Just above it are the foundations of a temple, about fifteen yards long, by eight or nine broad, from whence materials have been recently taken away to construct a house for the gardener. Behind the temple there is a rock cut perpendicularly to the height of twelve or fifteen feet, and having an opening in the middle which leads into a small inclosure formed by excavations in the rock: it was apparently a part of the sacred inclosure of the temple. There is also another excavation like those near the ancient pyramid at the Strait of Elafonísi. This quarry appears to have been afterwards used for smelting metallic ore, as a great quantity of scoriæ is heaped near it; all the neighbouring ground is covered with

this substance, as well as with fragments of ancient pottery. In the face of some cliffs on the opposite side of the torrents which encircle this height, there are some small catacombs. Another height bordering the sea a little to the eastward of the former, together with a small valley behind it, is covered with ruins of buildings of the lower ages, and a great deal of pottery. A mile to the eastward of the latter there is a third height, which is the last slope of the mountain, and forms a cape in the bay: it is covered with similar remains, and is called by the natives Paleó-kastro. Although I cannot recognize any thing Hellenic at this place, it must be admitted that it corresponds to the position of Bœæ as indicated by Pausanias; whether we take his words ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι to mean the shore of the bay, or the farther part of the bay, relatively to Onugnathus. The distance also of Paleó-kastro from the Hellenic position near Kyparíssia, agrees exactly with the seven stades of Pausanias between Bœæ and the place of which the name is wanting. I suspect the blank has been improperly filled up with the name of Side; for although it cannot be doubted that one of the three old towns of the Bœatice occupied this plain, the testimony of Scylax is clear in shewing that Side had a port on the eastern side of the peninsula between Cape Maléa and Epidaurus Limera. Nor could the name have well been Aphrodisia, from the occurrence in the Peloponnesian war, already mentioned, since, had the action taken place in the plain of Bœæ, that name would probably have occurred in the narrative of Thucydides; because, whichever of the three ancient places stood in the plain, all its importance must at that time have been absorbed by Bœæ. Side, therefore, I conceive, was on the eastern coast of the Bœatice, Aphrodisia and Cotyrta on the western, and Etias consequently was the place which stood at Kyparíssia. It may be the opinion, perhaps, of those who are inclined to place the Athenæum and tomb of Cinadus in the island of Elafonísi, that the ruins on the

northern side of the Strait of Elafonísi belonged either to Aphrodisia or Cotyrta, but those places were fortresses, of which kind of construction there is no appearance at the place in question.

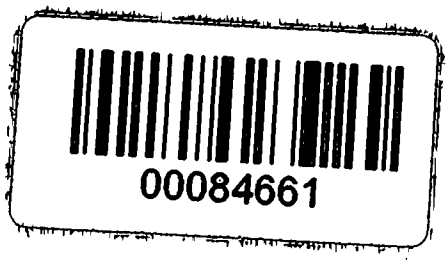
The Bay of Vátika is about five miles across from the Cape of Elafonísi to a low rocky promontory three miles beyond Paleó-kastro. All the eastern side of the bay has a fine sandy bottom, and is deep to within a small distance of the shore; there is a bold beach of hard sand from the Strait of Elafonísi as far as the garden, and from thence shingle as far as half way between the garden and Paleó-kastro; the rest is rocky. The western side is rather exposed to the south-east, and the eastern to the south-west. The channel between the southern Capes of Elafonísi and Cape Mudári of Tzerígo, is between four and five miles across, answering very well to the forty stades which Pausanias places between Onugnathus and Cape Platanistus of Cythera. A situation a little within Cape Mudári is still called Plataniá: inland from thence towards the south-east is Potamó, the largest village on this side of the island. The village of Vátika possesses vineyards and fields on the slope of the hill, and all the corn and pasture land of the plain. Its figs are dried and exported. Half the inhabitants are Turks and half Greeks. Both complain of the oppressions of the government, though Hassan Bey and his brother are individually well spoken of. The richer Turks generally dwell at Monemvasía in the winter months.

Oct. 6.—Having pitched my tent, I remain all day at the ruined town, to the eastward of the gardens. A ship in fifteen days from Skodra anchors in the bay; some of the Turkish officers visit me. Their pashá they say is near Nissa with a large army, every family in his territory having contributed one person to it.

Oct. 7.—This morning at sun-rise we row out of the bay in a calm. At 9, a gentle breeze from the south-west begins to carry us close along the bold shore to Cape Maléa. All the

interval is so steep and rocky that I know not where to place Nymbœum, unless it was in the angle where the second westernmost cape advances, but even here the slope is steep, and nothing but torrent beds are visible. I perceive however, a cave by the sea-side, which seems to identify the spot, but I am unable to ascertain whether it has a source of water in it. Possibly the Lake Nymbœum was nothing more than a small pool, like that which Pausanias describes also as a λίμνη at Larymna in Bœotia. Having turned Cape Maléa, Cape Kamíli appears, and Monemvasía. The position of Side seems to be marked by some vineyards immediately to the south of Cape Kamíli, but I cannot hear of any remains there. Epidelium itself was probably little more than a temple standing on the cape.

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.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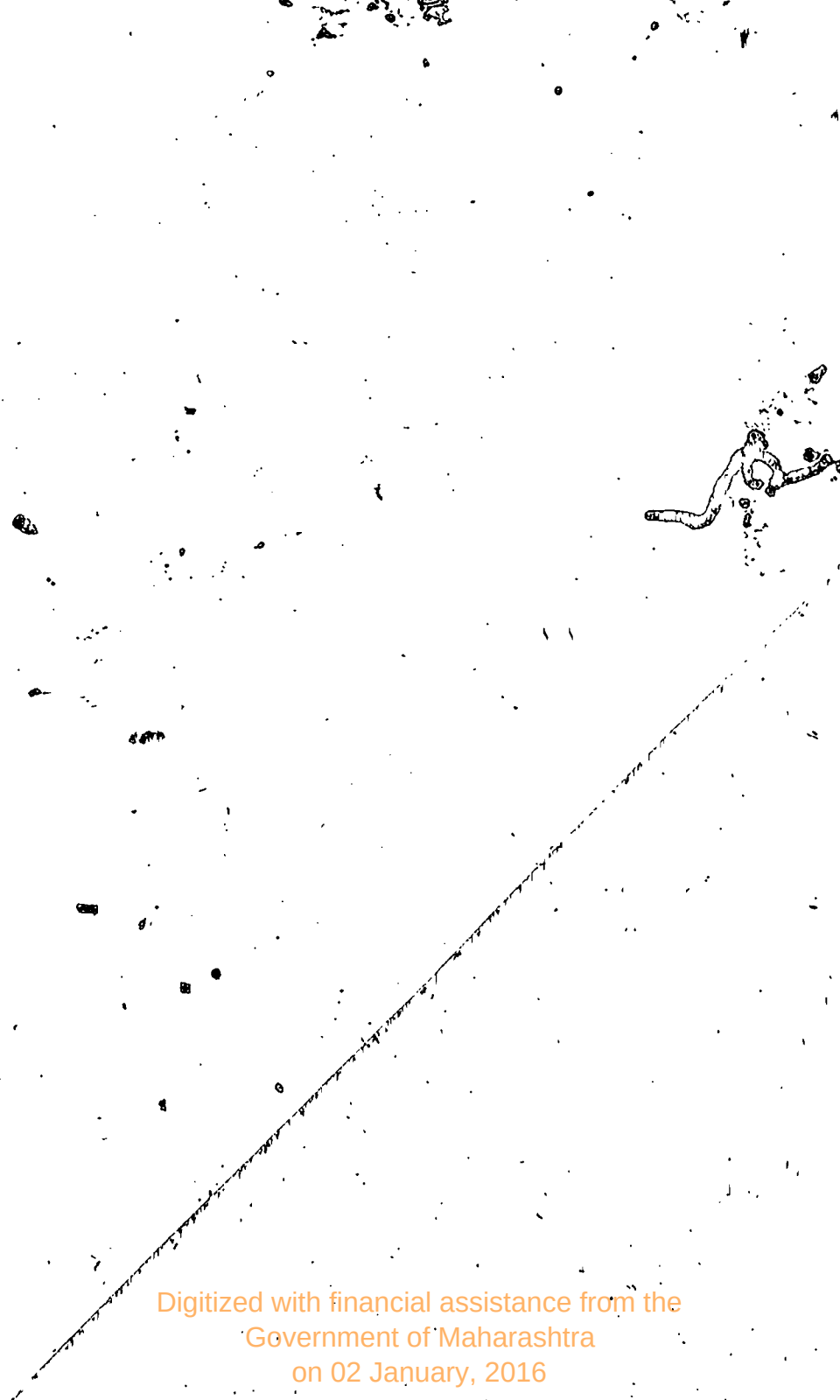

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